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Thy out of olde feldes ab mend seith
Cometh al thys newe corn fro yeer to yeer
And out of olde bokes in good feith
Cometh al thys newe science that men leer

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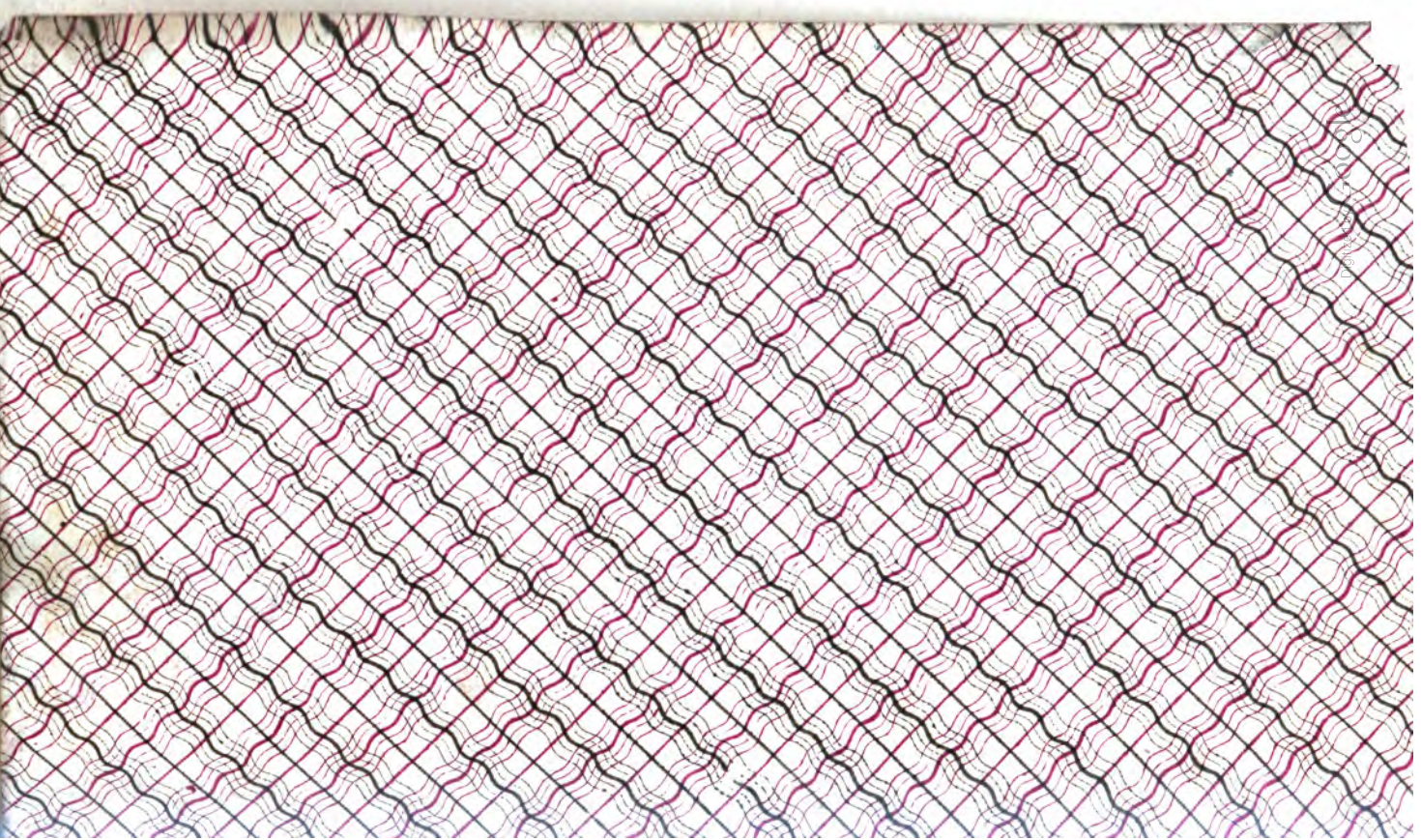

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The Calendars of Al-Hallowen, Brystowe.

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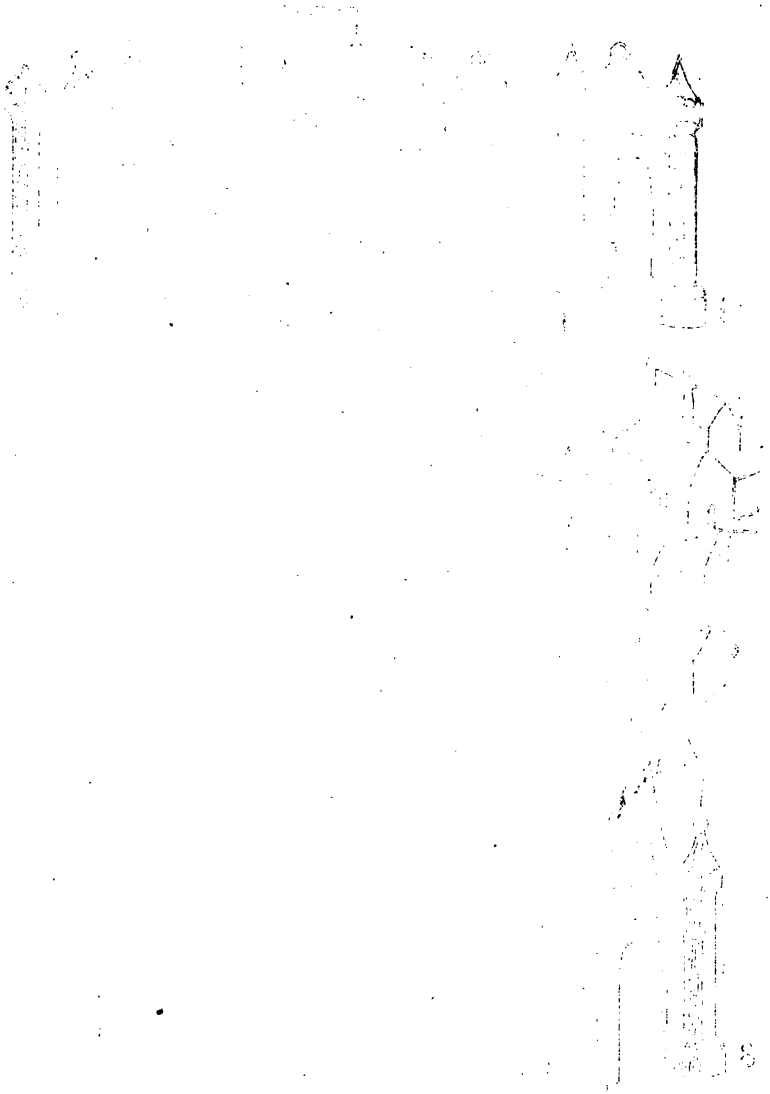

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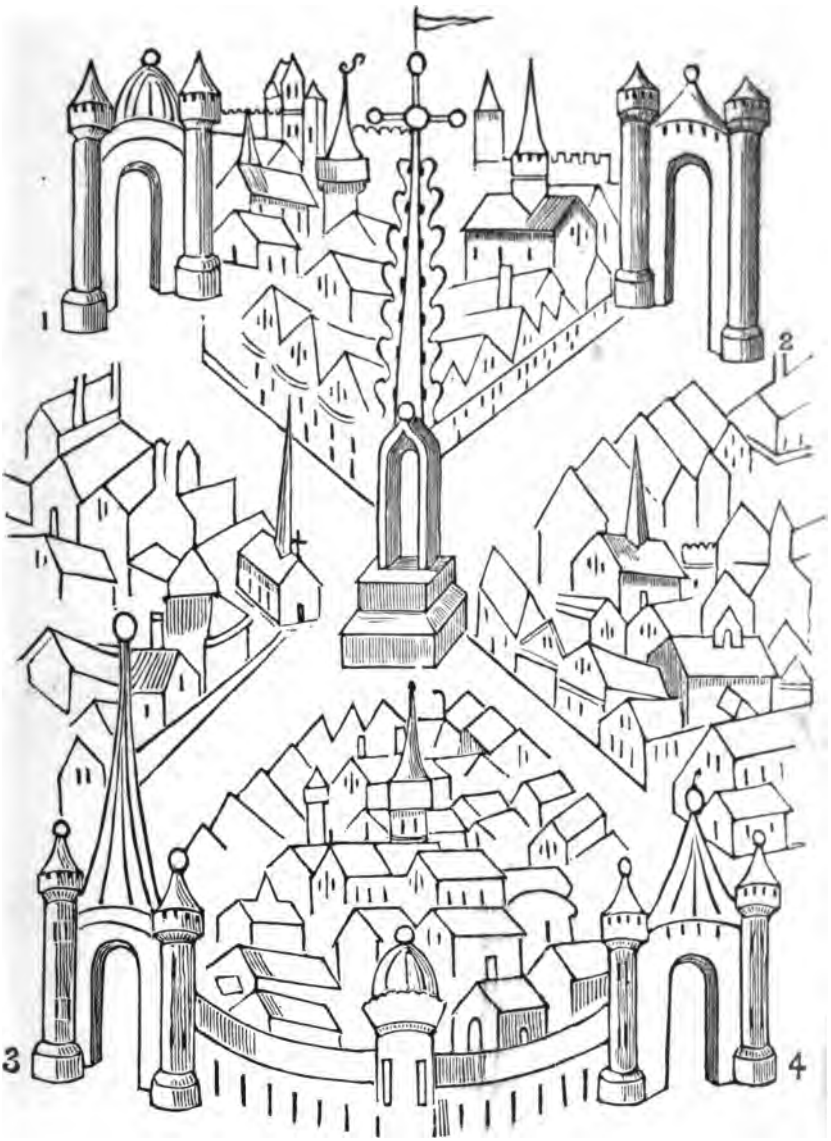

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A. J. B. Hope Esqr. M. P.
From the Author.
1846.

THE

CALENDARS

OF

All-Hallowen, Brystowe.

AN ATTEMPT

TO ELUCIDATE SOME PORTIONS OF THE

History of the Priory

OR

Ffraternitie of Calendars,

WHOSE LIBRARY ONCE STOOD OVER THE NORTH, OR JESUS AISLE OF ALL SAINTS' CHURCH, BRISTOL.

BY THE REV. HENRY ROGERS, M.A.,

VICAR OF THAT CHURCH.

Calendars' Seal.

BRISTOL:

LIGHT AND RIDLER. LONDON: HAMILTON, ADAMS, AND CO.

1846.

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TO THE COMMITTEE

OF THE

BRISTOL AND WEST OF ENGLAND

ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY

THIS LITTLE WORK,

THE OBJECT OF WHICH IS TO ELUCIDATE A PORTION OF

THE HISTORY OF "AUNCIENTE BRYSTOWE,"

IS GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY THEIR FAITHFUL SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

395910

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"The Calendaries, otherwise caullid the Gilde or Fraternitie of Brightstowe.....the original of it is *time owte of mynde.*"

LELAND.

"Collegium le Kalenders.....ab *antiquo* fundatum: *diu* ante conquestum Willelmi Conquestoris."

WILLIAM DE WORCESTRE.

—— "propter bonitatem et *antiquitatem.*" CARDINAL GUALO.

"One of the most ancient establishments of the British Kingdom."

EVANS.

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PREFACE.

THE Author requests his readers to observe that though he will occasionally be found using, as in justice he should, the language of praise with respect to the habits of the Calendar Brethren, he does not pledge himself to an unqualified approbation of *all* that was said, taught, or done, either by themselves or others during the same ages of the Christian Church. That though he has felt that as a Parish Priest he ought to extol devotedness, prayerfulness, and self-denial in religious duties, he is not to be charged with advising these to be performed *precisely* as they were exhibited several centuries ago: that though he is bound as a truthful Christian man to recommend certain good habits, now, alas! rarely adopted, he is not to be accounted an Anti-Reformer merely because he speaks of persons who practised those habits *before* the Reformation.

His chief desire has been to throw light, however weak, on a subject hitherto scarcely noticed, though it is a

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subject connected with the earliest periods of the Church of Christ in England, and most intimately interwoven with the records of Bristol, both prior, and subsequent, to the Norman Conquest; while at the same time he has ventured to impress on those who boast of being blessed with a purer creed, the necessity of outdoing in holiness of life others not so privileged as they.

He regrets that his researches into the origin and habits of "The Calendars" have not been more successful, and that what he has gleaned has been so imperfectly put together. At the same time he solemnly disavows all party spirit, and hopes that every one who takes up his little book for perusal, will divest his mind of that wretchedly morbid feeling which angles for the heresies of others.

Bristol, 1845.

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☞ *The figures in the Frontispiece, (which is taken from an old drawing of Bristol,) represent (1) S. John's Gate. (2) New Gate. (3) S. Leonard's Gate. (4) S. Nicholas' Gate.*

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"A temple shadowy with remembrances
"Of the majestic past."

MRS. HEMANS.

"Approach with reverence—There are those within
"Whose dwelling place is heaven."——

ROGERS.

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CHAPTER I.

OBSCURITY AND IMPORTANCE OF SUBJECT.

THERE are few branches of literary pursuit, which produce in a greater degree mingled feelings, than a research into former constitutions, the foundations of which are sunk in obscurity: the certain is so confounded with the uncertain, conjecture so often supplies the place of fact, that the mind is harassed, vexed or pleased, with the frequent alternations of satisfaction and disappointment which it encounters in the pursuit of its object.

To set about the work of enquiring into the customs, habits, and rules of Institutions, of which scarcely any other memorial is left but their name, or a floating tradition of the zeal of their members; to find here or there an

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allusion but no historical fact, or a fact with no connecting circumstances of which it may form a link, is a result at once disheartening and cheering: such an attempt is like displacing a majestic piece of armour which for ages has hung in some baronial hall; in doing which we fear, lest, as we search closely for indications of curious workmanship, or indentations made by an antagonist's heavy blow, we not only cause a jar or shock to what has remained untouched for years, but disarrange what we never can replace. It is like removing from its cobwebbed corner some blood-bought tattered banner, and while too curiously examining its texture and devices, to be forced to learn that every fresh discovery which we make, proves indeed the fine delicacy of the material, but shows with it the rudeness of our touch: or lastly, it is like lingering among beautiful ruins, where hand and foot tremble, lest in searching for some hidden relics

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of taste and skill we crush or displace others, where as our eye detects in the lofty crumbling column, and richly mullioned window, a thousand gems of art and devotion, the beauties we see only make us long for more.

Thus, in like manner, while searching for the laws which regulated, and the habits which characterised some Christian fraternity, the memory of which has well nigh passed away, the ruins only of it left, we fear lest while bringing from their obscure resting places the few records that remain of their quaint schemes and untiring zeal, the light of modern notions prove too strong, and scorching and withering: we fear, lest by giving too great prominence to one feature, we become guilty of injustice to another,—lest we pollute sacred things by unholy touch, or disturb exquisite beauty by rude interference; and when, after many a tedious hour of dry unretributive research, we

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discover, to our joy, some new proof of the holy fervour with which Christian spirits once burnt, it is not unmingled with regret that it was mixed up with much of superstition and sin, and that many excellencies, which doubtless existed, are unrecorded and unknown. In other words, that the picture from length of time, from lost memorials, from accumulated decay, is necessarily so imperfect.

If there be any subject to which these remarks may be referred with stricter application than another, it is that which these pages are intended to elucidate. Boasting of an antiquity which few religious houses, or even large conventual institutions could claim, and commended by Abbots, Bishops, and Popes' legates for goodness ("propter bonitates") in an age when sister establishments were deeply infected with the poison of worldly pomp and secular views, the poor and studious, and devoted Calendars noiselessly but usefully

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pursued their course. With but little wealth, with no external brilliancy of monastic power, and no gorgeousness of order, the Prior and his Co-brethren were happy in the discharge of their solemn duties. Fully occupied were they with their constant services—their awful requiems—their supplications for those who with their last words entreated their intercessory prayers, that the sinful omissions and commissions of their lives may be forgiven—visiting the sick, and relieving the poor with alms—aiding their fellow-citizens by keeping their archives—opening the doors of their Library to all, and explaining to the youths, as they pored over the several chained* volumes, the difficult passages which from time to time presented themselves. Of the vast advantage conferred on the city in which they dwelt by such an Institution,

* In the list of Benefactors to the Church one is named who paid for the *chains* wherewith some of the books were fastened.

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if well regulated, no reasonable mind can doubt; but whatever that advantage may have been, whether great or small, it was, with regard to Bristol, confined to the ages in which they flourished, it was not permitted to extend to our own times,—few and vague are the memorials left. Providence, certainly for the best and wisest purposes, ordained that the effects of their labours and zeal should be unfelt by posterity; for their whole library, containing more than eight hundred books, besides some civic archives, many rude and curious emblematic drawings, and numerous other manuscripts, was totally consumed by fire A.D. 1466. To this event we are mainly to ascribe the great obscurity which hangs over their history, and hence it is that we are furnished with such scanty materials for our work: and as Bristol seems to have enjoyed, in a peculiar manner, the privilege of their settling within her walls,

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we in vain look to the records of other cities and towns to supply our deficiencies, or to throw any light on this subject; we are left to glean what information we can from casual allusions in a few ancient deeds, and parochial minutes; and these allusions are not only rare, but, generally obscure.

No apology, we hope, need be offered for the present attempt. The history of the Calendars is wound up with some of the most interesting events of our city. Great was the influence, for good or for evil, which they exercised over all classes of the citizens. A somewhat annoying silence has been maintained with regard to this subject, not only by monastic writers in general, so far as the author has been able to ascertain, but by our own several annalists and topographers; while almost every other portion of ancient Bristol's history has been fully described, this has been left, if not untouched, at any rate but slightly

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adverted to. Perhaps, then, as such a length of time has elapsed, it may appear to some an useless, and to others a presumptuous, attempt to take up a subject so involved in difficulty: yet if but a few interesting facts be preserved from an increasing obscurity, or encouragement be given to those who are more capable of the task of making further researches, good will have been done; while the little parochial duty which is usually laid upon the writer, and a free access to some interesting manuscripts, supplied him with opportunity and matter, which he conceived to be his duty not to disregard. To this may also be added, the pardonable desire he has long entertained, to know somewhat of those who, during a period of at least three hundred years, successively spent their whole lives within the same hallowed walls in which it is his privilege to pass many of his happiest hours. Nor has he any wish to smother the

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humbling thoughts which arise in his mind when, as he crosses those solemn but mutilated aisles, he remembers that beneath his tread are mouldering the bones of these elder brethren; or as he now leads and joins in, our Church's beautiful Liturgy, can he altogether repress the thought of those past times, when, though centuries have since flowed by, fervent prayers and holy hymns, in a great measure the same as are now uttered, were poured forth by some devout prior,* his confreres, and fellow-parishioners within the same sacred walls to the glory of that God Whom we adore, "the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever."

* Several of the Priors of the Calendars were Vicars of All Saints.

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" Adopted in God's family, and so
" My old coat lost into new arms I go,
" The *cross* my seal in baptism spread below,
" Does by that form into an anchor grow.
" *Crosses* grow anchors, bear as thou shouldst do
" Thy *cross*, and that cross grows an anchor too."

JOHN DONNE.

" Porte la *croix* avec patience,
" Et unis la passion à celle du Sauveur."

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CHAPTER II.

CHRISTIAN FEATURES OF "AUNCIENTE BRISTOWE;"—THE ORIGIN OF THE CALENDAR BROTHERHOOD DERIVABLE FROM A CHRISTIANIZED PAGAN CUSTOM.

BEFORE entering into an explanation of the few particulars which have descended to our times, relative to the Calendars, we are bound in justice to remark, respecting the external features of "aunciente Brystowe" that they were eminently *Christian.* The original ground plan of the town, its varied details and the subdivisions, however minute, of almost every street, tenement, and even buttress, were intended as a rude embodyment of some high truth of our religion, to remind the traveller and sojourner, the visitor and citizen, that he was a member of the one

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great Christian family; and, as a responsible being, needed, in the midst of his daily occupations, to be put in mind, through the medium of things which caught the eye, of the blessings which cluster on the *Cross*. To this end, not only had his brow received its impress in early infancy as it rose freshened by the dews of the Baptismal font, not only was he regularly catechised by his parish priest, but the imaged niches of his streets, the beam-ends and corbels of his dwelling, the shield or escutcheon that formed the key-stone of his mantel-piece, the devices assumed in lieu of armorial bearings by the merchants and trades men, and the rich manner in which it was usual to decorate the initial of the *Christian* name, while that of the surname was written with the simple letter—the Christian initial being likewise in these devices or marks frequently set at the foot of the Cross, immediately pendent, as it were, on that sacred emblem;—

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all these things, though they may be regarded in our matter-of-fact utilitarian rationalizing times, as trifling and superstitious, yet must have exercised considerable influence over him, and have coloured the imaginings of his mind; while even the mutilated remains which we possess, serve to show (in however rude a manner) the general bearing of former ages towards what ought, in every age, to be the Christian's One Great Object. But besides these minor memorials of sacred things, the four principal streets which reached from gate to gate of his city, carried the same sublime idea to his imagination, for these formed a Saint Andrew's Cross; and the cluster of houses in each division, framing together a Maltese Cross, conveyed the same holy allusion; while, in the centre, between four churches, rose in later times (now, alas! entirely removed) the "Crux Magnifica," standing on the spot, which, for many a long

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year before, had been occupied by a less splendid, though not less faithful, symbol of the Christian Faith. The Cross* stood where it ought to stand, on the highest and most central part of the city—the first object of the citizens' view—the very centre of their town, as that which it represented should have been, of their hopes; to that point there was a concentration of their streets and traffic, conveying the lesson that not only should the Cross, emblematic of Him Who hung thereon, be their highest object, but that to which, as to a holy acme, should converge all their worldly occupations. As in the noble city of Antwerp there are seven gates, from each of

* Collinson, speaking of the original intention of erecting crosses, says that it was to "remind people of the meritorious cross and passion of our Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ.....The knees of our religious ancestors with gladness pressed those steps which the degeneracy of modern times has studiously contrived to unhallow and destroy."—Vol. I. p. 224.

Our Print represents the *old* Cross, not the "Crux Magnifica" which was afterwards removed to College Green.

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which runs a long wide street terminating at the Cathedral, with its marble columns, its porphyry and its gold; so in Bristol its four gates, with churches to guard the entrance and remind the wayfaring man that he was approaching a Christian city, opened into streets which converged to one holy memorial, and at their point of concentration united in the blessed Cross. Who shall despise such *material* Christianity? Such a method of reaching the heart through the eyes? Such "*petrifaction*," as it has been called, of our religion? Nay, what Christian Bristolian is there who cannot regret that tokens, emblazoned with all possible attractions, of merchandize and manufacture meet his view at every turn, but that outward memorials of his Faith are so studiously removed?

Such was the general character of the external features of the city during the period of at least five centuries, when the Calendars

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dwelt near its most prominent spot. The sparrow has oft found her a nest near the altars of our God, where could the members of a Christian brotherhood more suitably linger than around "the cross" of their Lord? But whence came they? How arrived they here? Who were they? Here lies one of our chief difficulties. We know, from many examples, that most energetic and decided efforts were directed by the early believers in Christ to the spiritualizing what was worldly, and Christianizing what was heathen, consequently we are for ever finding in the study of primitive Church usages, a Dagon consecrated into an ark of God. It was not to be expected that the subtle and polished Greek or patriotic Roman would give up all his old prejudices in an hour; the Christian fisherman and tentmaker, with their successor Saints, whose names are written in the Book of Life, employed the wisdom of the serpent attempered by the harmlessness

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of the dove, and though they would not, if they had dared, have compromised the terms of the message they bore, yet they did not hesitate to bend the circumstances they encountered to their own hallowed purposes. Hence we find many traces of heathen habits in Christian usages : for instance, the Pagan custom of placing lamps in sepulchres was turned to holy purpose by Christians, and indeed so completely Christianized that as may have been seen in the Genevieve cabinet, they were even arranged in a shape assuming the form of the sacred monogram. To some such feeling then, a desire of Christianizing a popular heathen practise, we may perhaps trace the origin of the fraternity of Calendars. Their very name is classical ; though belonging to a Christian fraternity it carries us back in idea to Roman customs. We do not hear of them as a distinct order, as a regularly organized body of Ecclesiastics, until the sixth or seventh

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century of the Christian era, still it may be fairly inferred that some traces of their constitution are to be discovered in the Roman Calendæ from which they doubtlessly derive their name. Nor is this idea chimerical as will appear from the following circumstances :— The Roman Calends were always considered sacred days, being so called, as some suppose, *(quasi colendæ)* from the veneration with which they were regarded. The care of regulating the year and the public calendar was entrusted, under the Roman polity, not to the Consuls, or Prætor, or Tribunes, but to the *Pontifex Magnus* and his College. Here we at once discover pretty clear indications that, however vague, or superstitious, or idolatrous the notions of the Romans were, they considered the regulation of the Calends of sufficient importance to be invested in their *Ministers of Religion.* Some days, likewise, were pronounced by them as "fasti," and others as

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"nefasti," and though the knowledge of these mysteries had, in later times, in some way or another, been revealed to the patricians, yet it formed the peculiar province of the *Pontifices*, or High Priests: here, again, are traces of a *sacerdotal* nature evident in the duties discharged with reference to the Calends. Further still, we shall see that one of the principal offices (derived from a very early period) of the prior and co-brethren of the Calendars was to keep a public record of events, to superintend and regulate a library open to all the citizens under certain restrictions, and to explain to those who required such assistance any difficulties that may have arisen; and are there not strong evidences of the same *kind* of office in that required of the Pontifex Magnus? He was, says Dr. Adam in his Roman Antiquities, to draw up a short account of the public transactions of every year in a book, and to expose this

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register in an open place at his house, where the people might come and read it. Others derive the name "Calends" from a Greek word, signifying "I call," in allusion to a custom common in Rome, and as it would appear, in some sort observed by the early Britons, of a *Priest* (like a Wardour, as in our own old city arms) ascending a tower at the beginning of each month, and from thence giving notice to the people to come and listen to his proclamation, crying out, "I call, I call; come, hear the moon's age."* Now, though we cannot distinctly trace any connexion between the order of our Calendars and the Roman customs on the Calends, still there is enough to justify the hypothesis that

* Καλῶ, Καλῶ. "Calendæ, primus dies mensis, quód eo die "solebat Pontifex ascendere turrim de consuetudine Romanorum, "et volens nunciare quota sit luna eo die vel principiũ mensis, "dicebat pluries Καλῶ, Καλῶ, quasi, voco vos, venite et audite "œtatem lunæ."—See, Summa quæ Catholicon appellatur fratris Johannis januensis, &c., 1503.

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this Roman practice first suggested to our Christian forefathers the importance of especially marking the beginning of months, of investing the Priesthood with the duty of proclaiming it, and adding to it the further office of keeping the public records. This notion, if we are justified in entertaining it, establishes the great antiquity of the Calendar brotherhood; as it identifies its occupations with the earliest of Christian usages in Britain; and Bristol was a chief Roman settlement; so early as the year 429 we learn that the riches of foreign countries were brought into Britain by the mouth of the *Severn*. Bristol, called by the Roman name "Civitas," or "Caer Brithon," was a principal port, and therefore here particularly would it be expedient to subdue Pagan notions by their subjugation to Christian rites.

If it be supposed that the Calendars may have been so called from their meeting for

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general purposes on the Calends of each month; the supposition vanishes on learning that they frequently thus met only four times a year; or that they derived their appellation from the fact that conferences mentioned by Du Cange were anciently held by the clergy of each deanery on the *first day of every month* concerning the imposition of Penance: a fair answer is, this may have been a matter of convenience, and in no sense the cause of designating any one religious fraternity rather than another, with this name. Numerous examples, as we have said, may be brought forward, (and why should not the origin of the Calendars be classed among them?) wherein Pagan customs have started the idea for, and then been made by devout minds subservient to, Christian observances. Just (to cite another example besides that of sepulchral lamps, already alluded to) as in the present day we keep

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Midlent or Mothering Sunday, not so much, as some would have it, through any idea derivable from the Lessons appointed for that holy day, as from a spiritualized heathen custom: its origin has been assigned to a very remote period, even to the Roman Hilaria or Feast in honor of the Mother of the Gods upon the 8 Ides of March, which Mother of the Gods was converted by Christianity into the Mother Church:* not that Christianity is indebted to heathenism, but that heathenism, through the influence with which it was brought into contact with holy example, mysterious sacraments, the grace of penitence, and miraculous powers bowed to the Church of Christ. So through a similar process, by no means unusual, and under the circumstances quite probable, may we trace the Christian custom of observing with particular

* Fosbroke.

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honor the beginnings of months to the reverenced (colendæ*) Calends of Roman times. If a heathen Pontifex was not degraded by proclaiming the moon's age, how was it unworthy a Christian Priest to tell of the steady lapse of fading time, while in the order of his holy office he spake of Him by Whose behest alone the moon pursues her silent round? If the Roman Pontifex declared to the people convened on a certain day the several feasts or holidays in the month then commencing, why should not a Christian Priest hallow this custom by proclaiming the solemn festivals and holidays of the Church which would fall in each month? Just as now, in a more seemly manner, the curate in each parish is required to "declare unto the people what Holydays or Fasting days are in the week following to be observed." If

* "Calendæ, quasi colendæ, quòd solebant coli apud veteres." "Summa quæ Catholicon, &c."

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it were a circumstance of sufficient importance to justify the Roman law that the Pontifex Magnus, and he only, should draw out a record of public events, and submit them at his own house to the inspection of his fellow citizens; can it be deemed a thing improbable that in Christian times, in a city whose every feature was stamped with some Christian mark, the momentous duty of keeping its records, and thereby investing passing events with their true, because Christian, import, should devolve on a fraternity of the Christian Priesthood?

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" The greatest Saints avoided the society of men, when they could conveniently, and did rather choose to live to God in secret.

" In silence and in stillness a religious soul advantageth herself, and learneth the mysteries of Holy Scripture.

" There she findeth rivers of tears, wherein she may every night wash and cleanse herself; that she may be so much the more familiar with her Creator, by how much the farther off she liveth from all worldly disquiet."

T. A'KEMPIS.

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CHAPTER III.

THEIR EXISTENCE FROM AN EARLY CHRISTIAN AGE TO A.D. 700;—THEIR SUBSEQUENT CONNEXION WITH THE INSTITUTION OF CORPUS CHRISTI DAY.

SUCH may have been the origin of the Calendars of All Hallowen Church. It would be an endless work to attempt to trace out their actual rise, or follow closely their progress, as a religious brotherhood, through several centuries. Still, though we lose sight of them for so long a period, and possess no actual data from which to glean probabilities, or on which to fasten facts; yet we may not thence conclude that they are but of comparatively modern date, or that they exercised no influence in the dissemination of catholic truths, or that no historical connexion between them and the first establishment of Christianity

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in our British isles, not to say even with the ancient Calendæ, is discoverable; for if during the disturbed times of the wars between Saxons and Britons, the incursions of Pict and Scot, or the invasions of those blood-thirsty Danes, who "came down like a flood" on the lands and houses of sainted men and holy communities,* our Calendars, like many other religious fraternities, were compelled for safety to worship their crucified Redeemer in the heart of some black forest, in the clefts of some otherwise unvisited rock, or on the margin of some secret stream: if their history, because at such a time *impossible* to be recorded by earthly pen, or because they were themselves loath to rush into the temptation of the world's applause, is unknown to us, surely it

* "Priests were every where massacred at the altars; and prelates with their flocks, all respect to honour being set at naught, were swept away by fire and sword, without any to give burial to their mangled corpses."

VENERABLE BEDE.

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would be unfair to infer that they did not exist as brethren of the holy Catholic Church, as a recognized portion of the Communion of Saints.

There are few bodies of "religious," as indeed there are few individual Saints, in whose lives, as it has been truly observed,* we do not find some such unhistorical interval as this: and if it make no show on the pages of history, it may have yet been the most momentous period of their existence, the seed time of the Church, the springing germ of a holier growth: whether that unrecorded interval has been spent in ascetic retirement, or outward conflict, it has often been the season of probation, "the Vigil of their Christian Knighthood, on which their whole future depended." Thus S. Paul abode in silence in Arabia: but was his time there

* Lives of English Saints.

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wasted? Thus (to look higher still) our Blessed Lord Himself, from the time of His disputing with the doctors, to His baptism by S. John, spent a silent (was it not a holy?) interval of eighteen years: it was an interval in which He was occupied about His Father's business. So may it have been with the Calendars: because their life was hidden, was it, forsooth, no life? Nay, was it not a more real and vigorous life for being "hid with Christ in God?" May not this interval in their history be compared to the torrent that bursts forth from some mountain height, lashes the rude cliffs in grandest majesty, tumbles into the dark valley beneath, and then for many a furlong fathom-deep pursues, under the earth's sod, its own course unseen, unknown, (yet all the time being filtered from former pollutions) till in calm majestic course we find it again rolling peacefully along, hastening to mingle its tributary waters with

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the ocean; and that so in like manner these brethren, springing from that rock on which Christ has built His Church, may have appeared in solemn magnificence in an early Christian age, and then overpowered, buried as it were, beneath the world's weight from the eyes of other men, and their tones of solemn services drowned by the unhallowed, uncongenial, and louder din of war, persecution, chivalry, and merchandize, may have remained unknown, it may have been, therefore, the more pure, till gentler times encouraged them to come forth from their rude grottoes, rustic altars, and hallowed caverns, to find a peaceful settlement in some suitable town or village. This conjecture gains importance not only from their name, but also from the admitted fact that never is reference made to them by historians, without some positive allusion to the *antiquity* of their order. However vague may be the account of their rites, habits, and

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regulations, those who have mentioned them, agree in the fact that they were of very ancient origin. Leland (a good authority to be quoted on this subject) says in his Itinerary, "The Calendars, otherwise caullid the Gilde, or Fraternitie of Brightstowe was fyrste kepte in the Church of the Trinitie, sens at All-Hallows, the *original of it is ovt of mynde.*" He speaks also of its existing at Holy Trinity in the time of Aylward Meau and Bristric his sunne, lords of Brightstowe, *afore the Conquest.*" The Pope's legate, Cardinal Gualo, immediately after the coronation of Henry III, at Gloucester, visited their house, approved its rules, spoke in high terms of the excellency of its order, the good discipline exercised by its members, and their individual conduct, not omitting to mention in special terms the *antiquity of their origin.* William de Worcestre, a credible authority, inasmuch as his own uncle was a Calendar

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Presbyter, speaks of their foundation as "*of old, a long time* before the conquest of William the Conqueror." ("Collegium le Kalenders . . . . . ab antiquo fundatum diu ante conquestum Willelmi Conquestoris;") and he further tells us that he saw and read letters certificatory (of their antiquity) in the time of S. Wolstan the Bishop, and those letters written in a hand, even then accounted *ancient*, (antiquâ manu.) Topographers and other antiquaries referring to the Calendars have usually termed them a "Fraternity," not knowing, in consequence of their very early origin, whether they could be justly termed a priory or not; and Mr. Evans, in his History of Bristol, expresses his conviction that theirs was one of the most ancient establishments of the British kingdom. Losing, however, as we necessarily must, all account of this brotherhood for several centuries it is at least satisfactory to find a notice

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of their existence (though that is all) about the year of our Redemption 700. They were subsequently recognised as a fraternity closely connected with the establishment of the festival of Corpus Christi. But their origin was surely antecedent to the institution of this feast: they may have allowed their name to be in some sort identified with it out of compliment to Urban IV., or because great privileges were granted on that day, of the benefit of which they were glad to avail themselves, or because they may have taken a leading part in those rude symbolical plays which represented detached subjects extending from the creation to the final judgment. Be the cause what it may, the connexion of the Calendars' name with the festival of Corpus Christi * does not affect their greater

* The following entry (certainly affording no proof of the priests' intemperance) is to be found in the minute book belonging to All Saints Church:—

"Itm yn wyne to ye prestys on corp^{s} $\overset{i}{x}$ day $//^{d}$"—Item in wine to the priests on Corpus Christi day 2d!

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antiquity; it merely proves them to have been at the time of its first institution a recognized Christian body, consisting principally of presbyters. On the festival above mentioned, the *trades* in the several cities attended the procession, in which was carried the pix, or chrystal box* inclosing the Host, and as the Calendars held from other causes frequent intercourse with the *trades*, it is reasonable to suppose that in course of time their origin may have been viewed as cotemporary with the institution of processions and pardons on Corpus Christi day.

This observance was kept up with great solemnity and grandeur, through many generations, until it was found that the

* A curious bequest is mentioned in Drakard's Stamford of William Bruges, who bequeathed "a solempnitie of aray for the fest of Corpus Christi." This "solempnitie" was a richly wrought pix or shrine, to be borne between the Deacon and Sub-deacon. To the church of All-Hallowen was likewise given by Roger Gurdeler "a pix, wherein the blessed Sacrament is borne in visitacions, with the cupp and spone, all silver and gylt."

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expense incurred for luxuries and processional display was unbecoming and ill suited to a religious brotherhood. In the reign of Edward IV. the following entry was made among the constitutions and ordinances of the vicar and parishoners of Allhallowen, Bristol, (a similar one must have been made in the book of "the brothers" for their more extensive extravagance on these occasions, and that book was destroyed by the fire, or "aliened" when the "styple was pyght down.") "Item—Wheras yt hath ben yerly usyd afor ys tyme that on Corpus Christi day on ye Churche coste ye Procutors to geve a dyner unto ye Vycar and to ye Preestys and to ye Clerkys yt ys nowe agreed and ordeynyd yt fro hens forward ye dyner to be lefte," &c., &c.

There does not appear to be any good authority for ascribing their rise to a period coetaneous with the institution of the festival

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of Corpus Christi; for had they appeared then for the first time, had Urban IV. been their founder, we should not have to encounter the difficulties to which we are now subjected. The conclusion at which we may safely arrive is this: the Calendars were amongst the first Christian brotherhoods existing in England in the times of our Saxon forefathers, tracing their origin to a Christianized heathen custom of religion, and though like many other religious bodies injured, scattered, obscured, yet reappearing and recognized in the year of Grace 700.

Our next enquiry is,—where, when, and under what circumstances, do we meet with them in Bristol.

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" My God, where is that ancient heat towards Thee,
" Wherewith whole shoals of martyrs once did burn,
" Besides their other flames?"

G. HERBERT.

" And as I passid in my priere ther prestis were at messe
" In a blessid borugh that Bristow is named,
" In a temple of the Trinite, the toune even amyddis,
" That Christis Churche is cleped among the comune peple."

FROM A POEM ON THE DEPOSITION OF RICHARD II.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE STATE OF BRISTOL AND THE HABITS OF THE CITIZENS WHILE THE CALENDARS WERE LOCATED AT HOLY TRINITY.—THE BROTHERS WELL SUITED FOR THE SITUATION, AND THE SITUATION FOR THEM.

ONCE even to a proverb, not only a "city of churches," but a "blessid borugh," Bristol is now a city of tall chimnies, sunless avenues, gaudy shops, massive warehouses, huge factories, an overgrown population, without room or sufficient opportunity for public worship, and, which is worse than all, guilty as a mass of immortal beings, almost beyond other towns, of "the sacrilege of schism." How then can they, who are in any way partakers of this sin, be capable of realizing in themselves the habits and feelings prevalent among Bristol citizens, in the times

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to which we are about to refer? To leave, for any novelty whatever, the ordinances of the church, apostolic in origin, and approved by the unanimous voice of catholic centuries, was with them as deep and indelible a disgrace, as they justly felt it would be an injury to their souls: to regard their apprentices or other domestics in any light but that of members of their own families, for whose eternal, not less than their temporal, well-being they were greatly responsible, was a crime at which their Christian sense of right and wrong, of reciprocal obligation, would have shuddered: to omit voluntarily matins and even-song, if not the observance of the other canonical hours at their parish church, though this never caused the omission of private or family prayer, was not only in their sight a grievous sin against God and their conscience, but a serious and almost unpardonable interruption of their domestic order:

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to be deprived, except through stringent necessity, of the daily* refreshment vouchsafed in the Blessed Eucharist was far worse than being robbed of their material daily bread,—in short their home was no happy home to them unless there was continual church-going: and to pass by a festival without enjoying the church's high offices, without ringing of bells, closing of shops, suspension of secular business, &c., &c., the honest sport of wrestling or leaping in the Broad or Lewin's green mead, the lively, yet modest dance on the fair grounds, adjoining the Priory of S. James, in fact making it a thorough Christian holiday, in honor of those whose "virtuous

* Archbishop Cranmer, that zealous promoter of the Reformation, speaking of the Holy Communion says—"Our Saviour Christ Jesus to comend this His Sacrifice unto al His faithful people, and to confirm their faith and hope of eternall salvation in the same, hath ordeigned a perpetual memory of His said Sacrifice, *daily* to be used in the Church to His perpetual laud and praise, and to our singular comfort and cõsolation."—Preface to "A Defence of the true and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Bloud of Christ. 1550."

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and godly living "* all good men would follow, was with them a sin which weeks and weeks of penitential tears could not have washed away. The services of the church were then not only a part of the nation, they were even embodied in every household, they were necessary and hallowing portions of the family arrangements, and essential ingredients in every individual's business and happiness. There was doubtless much of superstition, even sin in some of their services, but with this we have nothing to do; the Christian citizens of Bristol were then thoroughly sincere observers of what they were taught the church of Christ required. But we write when different feelings pervade the great mass of our fellow-townsmen: and these arise, we would believe, not from any indisposition in them to honor catholic, (we do not mean popish) usages to receive catholic truths, or honestly to enjoy

* Collect for All Saints Day.

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catholic privileges, but from an hereditary disease; a sickly heritage derived from few generations! thankful, but humbled should we be, that a healthier disposition seems to be coming upon us, a regaining of our long-lost, but justly due rights. Let us then for awhile carry our minds a few centuries back, when in our own loyal and ancient city Bristol, the Calendars found a home, and a centre of usefulness radiating into a very wide circumference, at the Church of Holy Trinity. That church is now removed; or rather the deep and speaking reminiscences of earlier times, the language of stone, the cruciform area, reminding the bending penitent of Him Who died for him; the uni-triple approach to the holiest, and the three-united aisles suggesting even to a casual worshipper thoughts of the Blessed Trinity; all these have now passed away, and made room for a modern church of the unmeaning, unspeaking style of Sir

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Christopher Wren; and with them consequently the records they bore of those devout men who once worshipped there, once found a laborious but happy home, day and night, within its sacred precincts, are vanished. But though stones are gone, and carved memorials have been pillaged, shall we neglect to honor that fervent spirit which so warmly glowed in Ella's breast, that forgetful of all earthly ties, and his own comforts, even needs, the noble Saxon so richly endowed that temple? Nay, we will not even pass by Aleric Sneaw,* with his warm heart and his rough hands,—who at his sole expense, and joint-labour, so cheerfully raised the lofty spire; those aisles and that spire are now gone, even the stone statue, that would have perpetuated, so long as stone

* This is, perhaps, the same individual who is sometimes designated "Brictric Sneaw," over whose history hangs so much of romantic melancholy; for the particulars of the incident alluded to we refer to the account given by "The Church-Goer," (p. 38, n.,) on the authority of Agnes Strickland.

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could last, pious Ella's memory, was doomed to be walled up for many years, and at the demolition of the old church was compelled to forego his stationary character and migrate to an unknown dwelling. Why, if still in existence, should he not find his way back to some such suitable post,—some old church tower where, like Brennus and Belinus at S. John's, he would awaken no one's fears or wrath, but perchance kindle in the breast of a Christian citizen or wayfarer, a holy emulation —a desire to "go and do likewise"? "Pious" thieves (to whom indeed we would acknowledge obligations for preserving what ruder hands may have destroyed) have surely opportunities enough of restoring to some niches in our churches the once honoured effigies of earlier times.

Christ Church, as the church of Holy Trinity is now called, is still an object to be loved, to be rejoiced over, though there are no

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chimes hymning to the good folks of Broad and Wine Streets, as heretofore they did six times a day, and no funny quarter-boys with hammer in hand prepared for their busy work; we should love her, however, for that she is a temple of the Great God; and we should rejoice in her for that she stands on ground which has been consecrated nearly ever since Bristol has existed a city; and while two of her sister churches, S. Ewen and S. Andrew, have been rifled of their treasures, levelled with the ground, and their holy earth by impious hands desecrated to worldly purposes, she still, (though in altered form) remains as the casket of rich jewels, the shrine of honoured dust, the guardian of costly treasures; she still re-echoes (though at distant intervals) the soft voice of prayer and praise which ceaselessly reverberated through her ancient aisles, she even yet guards the remains of those who lived and died

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Christ-like, some peaceful laborious Calendars, those men of unmurmuring affliction, of persevering self-denial, of unobtrusive devotion, of sleepless watchfulness, of quiet holiness.

While the Blessed Spirit is one and the same, diverse are Its operations; and consequently devoted men in the church have laboured in various ways, and amid various scenes to do the same work, their Master's will: some among rudest rocks and wildest scenery, others in courtly houses, baronial halls, or even on warlike fields; some in the distant lonely cell, others in the crowded, but silent convent; some in the depths of solitude with no earthly companions but birds and reptiles, and others in busy cities amidst the uproar of the noisy mart: yet though various their field of labour, all the faithful were and are members of one body, having one paramount object in view: and so while some simple-hearted men were content to dwell in

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damp out-of-the-way dells, (afterwards transformed into rich abbey lands, through their own continued untiring labours) of whom we read * "nothing was heard except that day and night went their bells, first the bell for matins, then the great bell tolling out for the lay brethren to get up, and all day long for the hours, and for vespers in the evening, and for compline at night-fall: of whom nobody knew how they lived, except that their white habits were seen in the fields as they worked" in silence, and that they never begged: while these strove in their vocation truly and godly to serve their Master, the less romantic, but not less laborious lot of others, as of our Calendars, was cast in crowded towns, there to soften by example and rebuke the stern nature of mercantile man,—to call him by their frequent bell from a too-engrossing world to

* Life of St. Stephen.

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the spirit-calming work of prayer and praise, —to lead his thoughts, yea, even in the midst of traffic and civic duties, heaven-ward, —to catechize and instruct his children,—to pay constant visits of mercy,—to receive and entertain poor pilgrims, or other strangers,— to check the growth of heresy, and to make proselytes to the cross, for the Calendars held it one of their chief objects to teach Jews, so much so, that they not only personally laboured among them, but founded schools for their training. That conventual institutions, like every thing else on earth, should deteriorate by time,—that Wealth should introduce into them Luxury,—that Dignity and Honor should engender Pride, and that Power should render them regardless of earthly consequences, is nothing different from what we may at any time discover in every institution, be it ancient or modern, secular or religious: that the existence of

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such abuses justified their total abolition is, at least, very doubtful; this question however, as it forms no part of our present enquiry, is gladly dismissed. We have alluded to hard-working monks and rich abbey lands; one observation on this matter seems to be required: we are apt to imagine, when noticing the luxuriant domains in which abbeys or monastic ruins now stand, that the monks, with a quick and greedy eye to their personal interests, selected for themselves the most sheltered and fertile spots: the contrary however appears to have been the case: wild, far away, rocky, or swampy lands were the objects of their choice; and if these in after times, from steady labour, persevered in year after year, continued even through centuries, changed their ruggedness into culture, their wildness into regular luxuriance, and their barrenness into fertility, sorrow take that narrow mind which would attribute the

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change to other than its rightful cause; the unremitted labours of patient monks softened the hard clod, broke the obstinate gravelly plain, freed the entangled wilderness, and their continual prayers brought down upon it all the enriching dews of heaven. Hear Wordsworth,

"Who with the plough-share clove the barren moors?
"And to green meadows changed the swampy shores?
"Thinned the rank woods; and for the cheerful grange
"Made room, where wolf and boar were used to range?
"Who taught, and showed by deeds, that gentler chains
"Should bind the vassal to his lord's domains?
"The thoughtful monks, intent their God to please."

Unlike these, the sphere of duty marked out for our Calendars lay within the city gates: in the very centre of trade and bustle these peaceful, unmurmuring men abode. It does not appear whether this locality was appointed for them by their spiritual superior, whose word they would follow with readiness

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and entire submission,* or whether they fixed upon it for themselves; under either circumstance the church of Holy Trinity, or rather a building, with its library, dormitory, and refectory, attached to the church and communicating with it, and afterwards one near it, namely, Al-hallowen Church, were the places fixed upon for their residence during several centuries. Nor as a religious body could they well have chosen a fitter position: here the influence of holy example was most required, for it was the most crowded and busy, as it was the most worldly and thoughtless part of the neighbourhood, yet even here in the midst of shops and stalls, surrounded by merchants, petty tradesmen, and speculators, the devout

* "Παντες τῶ ἐπισκόπῶ ἀκολουθεῖτε ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστος τῶ Πατρι."

S. IGNATIUS.

Vossius on this passage says,

"Nemini mirum videri debet, si et hic et alibi tantam auctoritatem Episcobis et Presbyteris adtribuit Ignatius; non aliter de illis loquitur Polycarpus."

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mind, accustomed to see God every where, could find ample food for the exercise of holy meditation. Four Christian temples formed the angles of a square, and the Holy Cross rose in deserved dignity in the centre; as though they would remind the contemplative soul of the five wounds that rent our Redeemer's body—the pierced hands and feet, and the central heart. They, doubtless, chose the city (if the choice was submitted to them) because there they would be called to labour most for their Master; they could not, if they would, have been magnificent, as their brethren of the Abbey of S. Augustine; or rich, as those of the Priory of S. James; or stately, as the neighbouring Knight Templars, with their chain mail, snowy vest, and red cross; or even uninterrupted, as the minor preachers; for all these dwelt outside the city walls, beyond the angry noise and ceaseless excitement of

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traders and dealers, and all of them, if we except the last-mentioned, had extensive and embattled houses for secure rest, and peaceful fields for holy meditation, while the poor Calendars were content, nay, counted it all honor to labour where personal ease was most taxed, but where heavenly cultivation was most needed. And they were monks; and *because* they were monks the modern English reader may account them nothing worth; and deem all they did, however praiseworthy, as useless and evil: but surely this is unjust: quaint, irregular, and wrong we pronounce some of their habits to have been, and so will our habits appear in the eyes of future generations, but they may not be really the more blameable on that account. Well has it been observed that "it is the vulgar fashion of the present day to abuse the unfortunate monks, and to charge their memory with every species of calumny.

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But let us remember that such charges arise, in the first instance, from those who benefitted by their spoils, and who had therefore a positive interest in disparaging them,—from men whose sins were of a seven-fold deeper die than were the sins of those whom they first reviled and then plundered . . . . When we calmly reflect on the unfeigned piety of the great majority of those men, "who departed not from the temple, but served God with fastings and prayers night and day,"—their assiduous cultivation of learning,—their diligence in keeping their registries and chronicles, and transcribing their manuscripts, a great part of which we have wantonly destroyed;—their charity to the poor; their disinterested hospitality to strangers; their liberal encouragement of education, architecture, and horticulture; their transmission to us of our Bible uncorrupted; and, finally, when we

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contrast with all this the profane use that has since been made of the funds solemnly bequeathed for the most holy purposes, we shall be forced to admit that the sin of sacrilege has entered our vitals; and that if a reformation was necessary in the sixteenth century, a more searching one is required for the nineteenth." (From Rev. C. J. Lyon's History of St. Andrew's, Edinburgh.)

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" O ye swelling hills and spacious plains!
" Besprent from shore to shore with steeple towers,
" And spires, whose silent finger points to Heaven;
* * * * *
* * * " May ne'er
" That true succession fail of English hearts,
" Who, with ancestral feeling, can perceive
" What in those holy structures ye possess!"

WORDSWORTH.

(THE EXCURSION.)

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CHAPTER V.

VICINITY OF THE "HOLY CROSS."—SIR JOHN DE RIPARIIS.

EXISTING records there are none of how these brothers spent their time while their residence was where Christ Church now stands: but for themselves, so far as we can judge, they needed no earthly memorials, they sought none, they wished for none: all they longed for was, that labouring for Christ their "record may be on high:" no illuminated manuscript, with its purple and gold; no mysteriously discovered roll (miraculously preserved from amongst forgotten Ella's shrivelled parchments) bears witness to their labours night and day; their "witness is in heaven." How they lived, how they fasted, how they watched, how they prayed, how

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they subdued self, how they laboured among their fellow-citizens at the period referred to, is untold. This we know, that for many and many a long year, in contented poverty, with scanty fare, and midst laborious watchings, they strove to fulfill their duty in that state of life unto which they had been called. They had reason to be happy in the spot chosen for their priory, from several causes: an air, or outward semblance, of religion, which true Christians may make real, pervaded the city itself; and beyond it, they could not look from their own tower, or clamber up to the shrine of S. Brandon (the hill itself reminding them of their crucified Lord*) without seeing the whole face of the country from so far as the eye could reach, down to the Frome that lazily flowed by their city walls, thickly

* Willelmus Botoner, alias, William de Worcestre, whose uncle was one of the Calendar brethren, speaking of Brandon Hill, says "Dictus mons est similis monti Calvariæ prope Jerusalem"—the said hill is like the hill of Calvary near to Jerusalem.

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studded with abbeys, priories, churches, oratories, granges, all, places mediately or immediately, set apart for God's glory. Need we wonder that the county of Gloucester should have been conspicuous (would that it still retained its former character!) amongst other counties for its *Christian* pre-eminence? Need we wonder that a proverb should have sprung up and grown, and that men wishing to give stability to the truth of an assertion, should have used the saying, "*As sure as God is in Gloucestershire?*" Some traces of what the character of the vicinity about the Holy Cross was, in the times of the Calendars, may still be found, and some idea formed respecting it. In many particulars, as is naturally to be expected, it is very different from what it was. A modern dweller in that locality would perhaps smile at the thought of gardens and fields in the Pithay where now narrow, dark, and filthy lanes and courts

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abound. He may think that now there would be a far more fitting occasion for the collistrigium or "neck-stretcher" which once stood in Wine Street (then in allusion to this instrument of torture called Wynche Street.*) He may think (and with some show of reason) that such punishment would be far more serviceable to the unchaste and the drunkard of these days, than to the poor delinquent baker who so often suffered from it in former times; or he may perchance sigh at the retrospection, and long for the return of days gone by, when he is told that places now many of them the notorious haunts of dissipation, the awful abodes of shameless, yet withal, skulking, reprobates were once open healthy gardens, the lingering places of artless innocence, the recreation fields of godly house-

* "*Wynche* STRETE.—Harry Snellard gave to S^r^ Wyllm (Mooche) Vycar of ye seyde Churche (of All hallows) and to hs assygnes 1 howse yn *wynche* strete . . . . God have mcy on hs sowle." From the "General Mynde."

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holds, while the few residences which were near, were those of respectable, even aristocratic families. Sad are the ravages of time, but saddest when they change innocence into guilt. Let any one now pass through those lanes, the abodes, for the most part, of Sin and Misery, and hardly will he be able to familiarize to his mind the fact that merry rosy-cheeked children, and cheerful youths, and sedate elders once sauntered there in neat gardens, labyrinthine slopes, and shady walks —yet, such was the case—nor have many years passed away since the time when these may have been seen there: even so late as 1608 (though then, compared with earlier days, much disfigured) there were in the Pithay at least eight* gardens, with "lodges and penthouses." The existence of lodges and penthouses would imply that the gardens

* Feoffment of Ralph Hurle, and others, to new trustees, dated 20th July, 6th of James, (1608.)

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were of considerable extent, and frequented by the citizens as pleasure grounds, for penthouses were principally erected where there were "ambulatories," or public walks. Until about a century prior to this date nearly the whole of the Pithay was garden or pasture ground; it was not till the close of the reign of Edward IV., A.D. 1482, when this ground was sold to Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and others, that the face of the locality lost, so to speak, its rural character; and even then it was not sacrificed, as now, to the formation of close lanes and sunless courts, but merely divided into compartments, with two, or at most three, tenements erected on them; so late as a century after, as mentioned above, there were eight gardens. It seemed necessary so far to describe the state of that part of our city which lay behind the church of Holy Trinity, for on it often rested the wakeful eyes of the Calendar brethren as, at

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early dawn, or closing eve, or when they prevented the night watches, they mused and prayed. Here often during the interval (long on winter mornings) between lauds and matins, ere yet the slumbering world awoke, would they find that paradise which wealthier convents supplied in the cloister, for shutting themselves out from things temporal, "gathering," as says S. Bernard, "their souls up into themselves," and contemplating God. Besides which, some description is necessary to give us an insight into the topographical character of the town. Easily too on other sides of their abode, from the battlements of their church, or from the roof of their own dwelling, or from the deeply recessed windows of their dormitory may the eye have rested, not, as now, on nought but blackened bricks and tiles, but on the soft green of earth and the tranquil blue of heaven. Eastward lay the gardens

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to which we have alluded,—southward, the Templars' dwelling and church of the Holy Rood, resting against rising fields and the azure hills of Somersetshire,—westward, the Abbey Church* and domain of S. Augustine, —and northward, the Priory of S. James, with its own fair grounds, dotted, as they constantly were, with labouring or meditating monks, several plots of open land, belonging to neighbouring barons, fertilized by contented serfs and master-loving villaines, the farm of the mendicant friars, the grange of the minor brothers,† and Lewin's Mead: Lewin's Mead! this very name again awakens

* This is said, on the supposition that they were not removed from Christ Church till *after* the erection of the Abbey of S. Augustine, &c., a supposition not altogether without foundation; their prospect, prior to the erection of the above religious houses, extended over open pasture lands.

† Some works (black letter) with curious emblematical title page and conclusion, are still preserved at All Saints' Church, and are in excellent condition. One of the authors was "Sacri ordinis fratrum predicatorū;" and another, "Sacre theologie professor eximii ordinis fratrum minorum."

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a host of painful feelings. How altered from what it once was! It is sickening and harrowing to reflect on what it now is in comparison of the time when silent brethren, absorbed in prayer, lingered in its peaceful scenes—the misty gray of dawn, the scorching sun of noon, and the foggy chills of nightfall descended there on the white and gray friar muttering his psalter as he worked in his fields for his daily bread, (for the produce of these gardens was his principal source of sustenance): there too gambolled blythe childhood, and there the homely citizen enjoyed his old English sport, while the free-hearted nobleman, part of whose property lay there, did not deem his escutcheon disgraced by entering the lists with his humbler neighbours. That portion of these grounds which was not the rightful property of the Church, mostly belonged, as it seems, to one "Sir John de Ripariis," alias, "Sir John de la

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River," afterwards "Lord of Tomerton." With no jaundiced eye, however, did he look on the Church's patrimony adjoining his own, too heavy a debt he owed her for his Holy Baptism, for the living food of the oft-received Eucharist, and the thousand other blessings she had bestowed on him ever to covet what she possessed: nor was he content with mere verbal expressions of gratitude, he was anxious to show it in his deeds; an opportunity was not long wanting: so that soon was seen springing up on the goodly lands of Tormarton a Christian temple, and in it a costly little chantry, dedicated to God in the name of the Blessed Virgin. In that church rest his remains; the spot marked and guarded by an altar tomb, whereon his effigy reclines,—and in his hand—what?—a sword to show his prowess? a scroll recording his valiant deeds? a list of the services he had rendered

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his prince and country? no; a memorial of that which in his lifetime was his dearest object, and, doubtless, a happy reflection on his dying bed; a model of the church he had erected to the honor of his God.* That Sir John ever *resided* in Lewin's Mead we cannot say; (a Lord of Tormarton now may well shudder at the idea.) It is quite certain that he had not only lands there, but lands "with buildings" on them: and that this may have been his residence till his removal to "Tomerton" is more probable than, at first sight, it may appear to be, when we infer, as we justly may, that he

* Some doubt may exist whether *the* Sir John thus represented held property in Lewin's Mead in the time when the Calendars were at Christ Church. The De la Riviere family is of considerable antiquity, one of its members was high sheriff of the county of Gloucester 1275, and the family was then an old one in the county. The same spirit however of grateful love to the Church was hereditary among them—the question, therefore, of *which* Sir John it was, is of little moment. The Manor of Winsford, Somersetshire, was also held by them in the reign of Edward 1st, and hence obtained the name of Winsford-Rivers.

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took his *name* from his property in Lewin's Mead. Anciently men were distinguished by adding their father's Christian name to their own, as Owen ap Meredith ap Tudor; but after the conquest, they were generally taken from the place of their abode. How well then does the surname of Sir John accord with the character of his property in Lewin's Mead, close to the foot of which, if not round a considerable part of it, flowed the *river* Frome: *his* land formed a steep bank on one side, and a lane, (to which was given an obscene designation,*) running beneath the city walls, was the summit of the bank on the other; Sir John's surname "Riparia" signifies "a river between two banks:" as though in English tongue he had been called "Sir John of the River between two banks," or as the words round his seal have it,

* A similar designation was given to a lane in Oxford, and to one in Coventry.

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"Johannes de la River." This conjecture obtains corroboration from his adopting a swan for his crest.

But it is time to return to our Calendars. We have before stated that no earthly records are to be found of what fruits their zeal and self-denial and prayerful watchings bore, while they found a home at Holy Trinity Church. Yet who shall say that we have not quite as much as *they* wished us to have? They studied not (at least in their earlier and purer days) human applause; they coveted not canonization after death; they sought not, like Fame, to flit across the mouths of future generations: they had trained their ambition to a loftier and holier flight—it soared above earth and could find no rest short of the shores of heaven.

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" So wanderers ever fond and true
Look homeward through the evening sky,
Without a streak of heaven's soft blue
To aid Affection's dreaming eye.

The wanderer seeks his native bower,
And we will look and long for Thee;
And thank Thee for each trying hour,
Wishing, not struggling, to be free."

CHRISTIAN YEAR.

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CHAPTER VI.

REMOVAL OF THE CALENDARS FROM HOLY TRINITY TO AL-HALLOWEN.

About the year 1066, when Harding, son of the King of Denmark, was made Governor of Bristol, we learn from Leland that the Calendar brethren removed from the church of Holy Trinity to that of All Hallows, or All Saints. The cause of their removal forms one of the most obscure portions of their history. It may have been done, as has been conjectured, at the solicitation of Robert Hardynge, who was a great favourite of our Second Henry,* and the founder of the

* This would make the date of their removal about 100 years later. Leland says it took place about the year 1066, and a curious deed, preserved in the "littel Rede Boke," assigns it to the reign of Henry II.

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Monastery of S. Augustine the Great, to which he had given the church of All Saints: This opinion is confirmed by one Johnne a Dannburie, who was 17th Abbot of that Monastery early in the 15th century, and is reported to have written "An accounte of Brystowe Poettes," wherein it is said that "dhe Calendarres (were) remov'de bie Robertte Hardynge fromm dheyr furstte dwellynge ontoe Allehalloes Chyrche."

Poor John a Dannburie (for we must give him a word as we pass along) had a troublous time of his own, with his wayward monks, some neglecting the rules, and others resisting his authority: still, during his lifetime, by dint of continued forbearance, accompanied with much anxiety, the abbey remained comparatively quiet, and refractory brothers submitted, though unwillingly, to his authority, for in the midst of their growing secularity and nascent rebellion they loved him. No

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sooner, however, was his body laid in the grave (January, 1428), than the storm which had been long gathering broke out with terrific violence: with such fury, indeed, that the rightful successor to the abbacy (known as having restored and built the Manor-house of Almondsbury,) was fraudulently expelled from his post, and forced to surrender his chair to a subtle usurper and wretched waster of the goods of the monastery;—the *name* of this unauthorized usurper is known, but oblivion has buried all further reminiscences of him—no other memorial of his life, and none whatever of the time or place of his death, are recorded; he was justly cast out of the abbey—received, as he deserved, the fulminations of ecclesiastical excommunication, and died "unwept, unhonoured, and unsung." It must not be thought that such intrusions into sacred offices, and such usurpations of hierarchical privileges, were peculiar to abbeys

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and monasteries, and that our cathedral institutions have since the Reformation been exempt from them; for even amongst our own prebendaries, one, about 1560, is said to have been a concealed Papist, and not long after him, another, who was only a grocer in the city, contrived to be numbered among them.

John a Dannburie's explanation of the removal of the Calendars from one church to another, if we may depend on the authenticity of the record from whence it is extracted, corresponds with what Leland tells us in his Itinerary, that Robert Earl of Gloucester and Robert Harding translated the fraternity of Calendars from "Trinitie to the church of All Hallows." If these concurrent testimonies are to be relied on, the object of their removal was, doubtless, to connect them more immediately with the abbey of S. Augustine, in order that the Prior of the Calendars should recognize the authority and profit by the

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advice of the Abbot. The vicarage still remaining in the patronage of the Dean and Canons bears in some sort a present testimony to the probability of this conjecture. It should also be kept in mind, that Christ Church being a rectory, and All Saints a vicarage, the latter was the more eligible for these brethren, for where any church is a vicarage it may always be presumed to have belonged to some religious fraternity, so that by this arrangement they may have been ingrafted on some other community either decayed or desirous of being intermingled with them. Though, after all, it is not impossible, scarcely improbable, that their removal may have been the occasion embraced for changing an old rectory into a vicarage, instead of their being settled there because it was already a vicarage. In a curious old deed, measuring about six inches by three, and still in the date of which does not appear, being,

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I find that money was left by, or to, the *Rector* of All Saints for a lamp to be kept continually burning before the altar of the Holy Cross; yet even this is not so far free from doubt as to justify the inference that All Saints was then a rectory. The bequest, however, was certainly made to this church, as was also a similar one under the will of Martyn Draper, for a lamp to burn before the same altar; another by Alice Halye (1261) before the high altar; another by Sir R. Parkhouse, for two "torchys to ye Hye Awter;" another by John le Gate, to find five tapers before our Lady's altar; another to find the lamp before the "precious sacrament in the quire;" another for a "branche" of wax burning before the rood; and many others, the money for which was regularly paid during many years to "the Brothers of the Kalends," who were faithful to their trust, taking care that day and night the lamps (at least those at the high altar,)

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should be kept continually burning, to signify God's sleepless care of His church, and the need that man should ever live with his lamp trimmed, ready to meet the Bridegroom.

The truest perhaps, and certainly the easiest solution of the difficulty which encumbers the question of their removal, is that for some causes, to us unknown from the length of time which has since elapsed, and the destruction of their records by fire, there was greater convenience for the abode of a large and increasing brotherhood and the formation of a public library at All-Hallows' church than could be obtained at Holy Trinity. Proud, too, as they were of their antiquity, they found in the heavy Norman pillars and low massive arches something in the former church peculiarly adapted to their feelings and retiring habits. In other respects, it would be very doubtful whether their removal was one, as to site, for the better: here, with the exception

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of their own churchyard (which extended over a considerable portion of High Street, our present exchange * and, probably, market, and in the centre of which stood a very handsome and lofty cross of stone), and that of their view from the windows of the library, their situation was disadvantageous: for they were now, in comparison, hemmed in, being surrounded by closely compressed streets, inhabited principally by vintners, weavers, butchers, and boddice makers,—such as Wynche Street, Scattepulle Street, St. Collas Street, Worchepe Street, Thorow-house Lane, &c., &c.; and though few of these streets actually adjoined their church, yet they excluded in a great measure the view of gardens and fields, so that these brethren must at first have sadly missed the sweet earthy fragrance and the bright dewy spangles,

* A fact established by the vast quantity of human bones exhumed when the Exchange was built.

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and the cheerful scenery of the Pithay and S. James' Meads. But, as has been before remarked, they have left behind them sufficient evidence that temporal profit or personal ease never influenced them when duty called for a sacrifice. The church of All-Hallows still stands, altered indeed in many parts, mutilated, contracted, modernized, but there even yet hangs about her, in visible form, the spirit of departed days; memorials, that have bid defiance to the wear of time, and have for the most part escaped the chisel and axe of modern science still remain. There are, even now, a few unpretending solid heavy pillars, emblems of the retiring, but unbending, character of those who, unseen by the world's eye, in that same house of God, outwatched in prayer the stars of night. Windows, placed by the zeal of some of the later brothers, and still bearing, probably, their own shields (emblematic of the Trinity in Unity), retain

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their masonry; though the subdued light, which once streamed through with richest hues, and fell on their lowly figures as they bent in supplication, or intoned their solemn exequies by note over the dead, now blazes in the full glare of more modern taste.*

* The windows on the north aisle, or Lady Chapel, were "worshypfully glassyd," with one continuous story of "*Te Deum laudamus.*" The two in the cross aisle, the gift of Sir Thomas Marshall, a Calendar, and Vicar of the church 1407, were adorned with stained glass, one representing *the Seven Works of Mercy*, and the other *the Seven Sacraments* (so called). If such then were the windows in the aisles (and those on the north side must have been gorgeously magnificent) how richly emblazoned, how full of story, may we not reasonably suppose those at the east and west to have been! yet the former is now completely blocked up by a house in High Street, a beam of which runs right through it, though the shafts and part of the mullions, still remain hid behind the wooden altar screen; and the latter (the west window) is partly obscured by an organ and gallery, and partly walled up.

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" Sisters of Charity—there is, for the most part, no noise or display
" in what they do; and in smoothing down the footmarks which
" their brother man has trodden deep in the surface of society,
" so light and gentle is their step, they do not leave the imprint
" of their own behind."

THE CHURCH-GOER.
(S. PETER'S.)

" Charity speaks kindly, deals tenderly; grieves not the hearts of
" the living, and treads softly upon the graves of the dead."

BISHOP WILSON.

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CHAPTER VII.

THE CALENDAR SISTERS.—THEIR DUTIES, RELIGIOUS ZEAL AND PURITY.

We now come to something more tangible in their history—though much has been lost we now begin to obtain some information respecting them; scanty indeed this information is, often mixed up with secular and extraneous matter, with distant allusions then well known but now forgotten, and not unfrequently leaping over a long series of years; bare, mingled, and obscure as the records are from whence our information is gleaned, they yet give us some insight into the rules and constitution of the order of Calendars. From these we learn that their

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community was composed principally of priests,* to whom were added a few lay brethren and sisters. The existence of a sisterhood, attached to this society, bound by the same laws and pledges as the brothers were, subject to the same penalties, labouring in the same cause, and amenable to the spiritual superintendence and rebukes of the same prior, is an interesting fact, exhibiting at once the truly conventual character of the fraternity, and the extensive ramification which in its labours for good it had, by this time, acquired. We call it a fact, for though it has been barely noticed by other writers, there cannot be the least doubt of its existence. Two proofs shall suffice, though more of a similar character may be adduced: one of these we will take from their own rules, and the other from an ancient will. There is still extant

* Written "*sacerdotes*," not "presbyteri," to show the *sacredness* of their calling.—See Sparrow's Rationale, "Of the word Priest."

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the "*regula domûs ffraternitatis Kalend:*" in this it is expressly ordered that prayers shall be made on stated occasions "pro fratribus et *sororibus*" for the brothers and *sisters*, and, "quotiens fit mencio de confratribus, intelligendum est nomen confraternitatis similiter de *sororibus*," whenever (in these rules) mention is made of co-brethren, it must be understood that the name co-brethren applies equally to *the sisters*. Consequently all the heavy duties, painful self-denials, constant labours, and almost unceasing wakefulness, being night after night, and sometimes all night long in the church, fell upon these devoted virgins with as much force and strictness, as on the hardier nature of the brethren; both being alike subject to severe penalties, ending, if frequently incurred, in expulsion from the community; and, what was far worse than this, in obstinate cases the punishment was excommunication. The other

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proof of the existence of a sisterhood of Calendars is furnished by the will of one Robert Picard, bearing date "the Sunday next before the feast of St. Kenelm, the Martyr, 1258," wherein the testator gives to the vicar of All Saints half a mark of silver; to the dean (query, deacon?) of the same church 12d.; to the sub-dean (?) 6d.; and 12d. for the maintenance of a clerk who should celebrate divine service for the soul of the said Picard, for the souls of all his ancestors, and for the souls of all the brothers and *sisters* of the confraternity of the Calendars in Bristol.

A bare mention of nunneries and sisterhoods in these days gives rise in English minds to scarcely any other feelings than those of ridicule and suspicion. That any should *literally* "forsake houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for Christ's sake," is, in

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modern English view, excessively imprudent, often indeed considered directly at variance with the intention of those words; though our own immortal Hooker observes, that "it is an infallible rule in exposition of sacred scripture, that where the *literal* construction will stand, the farther from the letter is commonly the worst." It is not, however, too much for us to admit, that though our views on the subject may differ from those of earlier English Christians, yet that they who associated themselves in cœlibate institutions were actuated by the purest motives. The precise nature of the duties performed by the Calend Sisters is nowhere related, any further than that they knelt at stated hours in Al-Hallowen church in frequent devotion; services were for ever going on; and long after the midnight bell had tolled, their lowly modest figures, covered with a long veil, or enveloped with a thick hood and largely

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folded wimple, may have been seen silently moving about reflected against the low Norman pillars or dark walls by the ever-burning lamps on the High Altar* and Altar of the Holy Cross; not that they were constantly passing and repassing from one place to another, for motionless, and like lifeless figures, long did they kneel or stand till each service was over; and then one may have seen their shadows on the wall as they noiselessly glided from one of the numerous shrines in the church to another, or, when they clustered together to join softly in the solemn requiem, or as they knelt to pray for a "slumbering world sunk in sin." We cannot approve all their services, though we may admire their zeal: invocations of

* This was provided for by the will of Alice Halye, dated Wednesday after the translation of S. Swithin, 1261. The testatrix gave a house in the parish of All Saints for the perpetual maintaining of the lights before the High Altar. Similar bequests, as already mentioned, are to be found in other wills.

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the dead are not catholic but popish; and though their zeal, severed from discretion, sometimes ran into excess (a circumstance which should not repress our ardour but increase our circumspection;) yet we cannot think it just that their purity should be always suspected; a suspicion originated, and perpetuated principally by novels and romances. Why in this, by no means the most moral, age, should the sneering laugh and unkind suspicion always follow the mention of nuns and sisterhoods? Dark and wretched are some of their histories; but these tales, including even those not substantiated are few, when we consider the many hundreds of years such institutions existed, and the many thousand sisters there were in every country, nay in England (once proverbially the land of Saints) in every county. It is true there were Calendar brethren and Calendar sisters; but what then? were they necessarily

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profligate? eternal vows bound them both, and the heaviest temporal penalties hung over them both; at any rate they had not the temptations of idleness, ease, or luxury. No sooner was one duty performed than another almost immediately succeeded, and though Vice will find or make opportunities, it is always least successful with those whose time is most occupied: and no one can venture to assert that the Calendar sisters had not sufficient to employ them in various works of charity, necessity, and piety. Notwithstanding, however, such constant engagements and the hallowing effects which follow such Anna-like attendance on the temple, yet accounts are not wanting which speak of sad derelictions and awful crimes perpetrated in some sisterhoods. Such occurrences, truth obliges us to say, are rare, they are exceptions, by no means rules; and therefore with regard to the Calendars, the purity of whose character

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has never been sullied, for it stands unapproached by tale, whether true or slanderous, if the duties of these sisters were such that they called them sometimes into secular scenes, few were their opportunities of worldly or vicious pursuits; whenever the canonical hours and other offices were ended, what with dressing victuals for the whole fraternity, washing linen, carrying the weak, leading the feeble, tending the sick, they had at least less temptation to go astray than females now usually have: or when tempted, the mind was constantly being drawn back, and the wavering inclination strengthened for what was right by the combined influences of rigid confession, severe penitential acts, *habitual* religious services, and the frequent recurrence of such supplications as "Dignare Domine, die isto, sine peccato nos custodire," or "Libera nos a malo," while if they partook (as is not altogether improbable) more nearly of the

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character of Cistercian or Gilbertine nuns, let the tongue of scandal for ever rest when it is remembered that "the monks and nuns never saw each other except when a nun was at the point of death, and the priest entered to administer extreme unction and to commend her soul into the hand of God." If we have not that charity which "thinketh no evil" at least we may hush suspicion respecting such sisters long since departed, particularly when we call to mind, that in order that the nuns may be "unseen when they made their confession, or received the Holy Communion, a grating was constructed: the time of death alone bringing the priests and nuns together." And though from the obscurity which hangs over the History of the Calendars we cannot say to what order they belonged, and from the smallness* of the church in

* Al-Hallowen church was *comparatively* small—there is no doubt but that formerly it was much larger than at present—its nave must

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which their services were now conducted, the screens and gratings common in larger and more regular institutions may not have been adopted, still most unchristian would it be to infer from the simple existence of a joint community of brothers and sisters, framed expressly for the purposes of religion, under the sanction of pope and abbot, within the immediate cognizance of a rigid prior, and amenable to the most severe penalties, the necessity of profligacy; rather should we regard it as an evidence of unanimous devotion and sympathetic holiness.*

have been considerably longer to have been at all in character with the chancel and the rest of the building. It was probably cut off in length when the original tower which stood at the west end was "brent and the standeynge parte was pyghte downe." It is sad to think how much consecrated ground is now used in Bristol for secular purposes. Whole churches have been destroyed, church-yards alienated, chancels cut off, and naves abbreviated.

* A remarkable example of the character for purity which some of the Bristol sisters maintained is afforded by the nuns of S. Mary Magdalen, whose house stood on S. Michael's Hill. Though in

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this establishment there were but three *professed* nuns, yet there were many novices to whom was entrusted the education of the citizens' daughters. In such high estimation were these nuns and novices held, that the Visitors, at the Reformation, strongly recommended, though to no purpose, that they should not be dissolved.—See Dallaway.

The author's opinion on the above subject is by no means singular. The Rev. John Evans, who continued Corry's History of Bristol, thus expresses himself. "Forming our conceptions from "novels or romances rather than from historical testimony, it has "been the fashion of modern times to associate dissoluteness with "our conceptions of monasteries, and impurity with the establish-"ment of a nunnery. In these general conclusions are forgotten "the piety and resignation which might have frequently been "found in the gloomy cloister, and the meekness and saint-like "submission which were *generally* the inhabitants of the nunnery. "In this levelling principle we forget that in these establishments "the indigent had their wants supplied, and the children of sorrow "and suffering found a ready asylum, in which the hand of sym-"pathy was always cheerfully extended to mitigate affliction."

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" Thou fearest watchings, fasts, and manual labour, but these " are light to one who thinks on the *eternal fire*. The remem- " brance of the *outer-darkness* takes away all horror from *solitude*. " Think on the strict sifting of thine *idle words* which is to " come, and then *silence* will not be so very unpleasing. Place " before thine eyes the everlasting weeping and gnashing of teeth, " and the mat or the down pillow will be the same to thee."

S. BERNARD.

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UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

CHAPTER VIII.

THE RULES OF THE HOUSE OF THE "FFRATERNITIE OF CALENDS."

In an illuminated manuscript, still in being, composed and decorated by one of the lay brethren, we have, what he designates "The Rules of the house of the Ffraternitie of Calends." The title would lead us to imagine that here we should find all we wanted respecting their origin, order, and constitution: that at least we should be told how oft, and in what manner their sacred services were performed; how the few hours, which each day were not spent in the church, were employed; that there would be some allusion to the regulations by which their chapter was ordered; some insight into their occupations while in their hall, refectory, and library: but

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we cannot wade far into his confused mass of contracted and badly written Latin without finding such expectations almost entirely defeated. No allusion whatever is made to the appointment or duties* of the prior and sub-prior; scarcely any to those of the other brethren, be they cleric or lay; the domestic occupations are all passed over in silence; their religious services, except the special ones, are hid under the same tantalizing veil; and were it not for other documents, we could not learn from these canons that there was even a public library in connexion with their community. The principal portion of this "Regula" is occupied in giving rules for the performance of obits, and the various services for the departed faithful, particularly those of their own members. An inference

* A slight reference to these is made in a deed wherein John, Bishop of Worcester, establishes the ordinance of the house of Calendars.

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may hence be fairly drawn that this manuscript does not give the whole canon of the priory, but is to be regarded rather as an *appendix* to rules already in existence, and which these brethren may have had in common with some other monastic institutions or which were peculiar to themselves;* in consequence however of their being, beyond other communities, more frequently required to perform commemorations, this "Regula" was framed to supply what was wanting (in their particular case) in the general rules. Some interesting circumstances may, notwithstanding, be gleaned from the few casual remarks which are therein introduced. The preamble recites the authority by which their community was permitted to exist, and be recognized as a Christian brotherhood. We have before

* That they had other rules besides those contained in the "Regula" is quite certain, since Bishop Wulstan himself speaks of their "*ancient rules*," which, says he, "*have been observed time immemorial.*"

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observed that they had received not only the approbation but the commendation of Abbots, Bishops, and Pope's legates, we now find that their canons and rules were, after strict examination, approved by William, Bishop of Worcester, in whose diocese the city of Bristol then was, and who is himself said to have been a brother of the community, though he probably ceased to be a brother on his elevation to the Episcopate, as the office of Bishop was kept distinct from the character of monk. They were also confirmed by a Papal rescript, which, as the preamble declares, every one is bound to obey and defend ("quem sequi tenentur omnes, pariter et defendere.")

None was admitted, even as a lay brother, without the strictest enquiry into proofs of his fitness for such a brotherhood from habitual devotion, tried continence, and holiness of life. Once admitted, he was bound

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by a most stringent oath, placed on rigid trial, and kept under the severest surveillance; while the slightest dereliction, or apparent unfitness on his part was immediately reprobated, and that by the voice of the whole assembled chapter. Were he absent but from one service in the church, unless detained by illness, rebuke, in the presence of the whole body, was the consequence, and when vows of poverty became less common, and a spirit of worldliness had made its way into the brotherhood, this punishment was increased by the payment of a fine. Such regular attendance was no slight requirement, scarcely performable indeed, except by those whose souls were richly filled with grace, and whose bodies, by continued acts of self-denial, were brought under subjection, for their services were more frequent than even those of kindred institutions. "The sacristan, at first peep of

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day, trimmed the church lamp and that of the dormitory; then the bell tolled—in a moment this little world of Christian brethren was alive;" one by one their figures glided noiselessly into the church, keeping close to the walls,—their arms crossed—their eyes fixed on the ground—and so the day began; in like manner all the usual canonical hours were required to be observed by them, that is at Prime, about 6 o'clock A. M., at Tierce about 9, at Sext about 12, at Nones about 3 P. M., at Vespers about 6, at Compline about 9, and at Lauds and Matins about midnight and cock-crow; and *besides* all these services which they kept in common with other religious houses, they were bound to attend frequent commemorations of the departed, more frequent than those of others from their numerous shrines and chantries, and probably from the dedication of their church to *All*

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Saints, and keeping their encœnia on the eve of *All Souls* day.* Some of these obits too continued for 30 consecutive days (trentale.) a heavy burden all this on poor human nature: a severe tax on mind and body: and yet the slightest relaxation was followed by disgrace and punishment. In the midst of their errors and superstitions what a spirit of religious zeal must have burnt in the souls of these unwearied brothers and sisters! what a slow yet pleasingly torturing martyrdom must they have suffered from their ceaseless services! and what a contrast to the cold luxurious, easily fatigued worship of modern Christians do their habits supply! Since our faith is purer, our zeal ought to be at least commensurate with theirs, and if they could watch and pray day and night

* A festival instituted through the day-dream of a fanatic monk; and, as Wheatley remarks, deservedly abrogated by the reformed church.

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for so many hours, is it not little the church now requires of her children when she bids them begin and end each day with God, worshipping within her hallowed precincts at early dawn and darkening eve?

The Calendar brethren were no less subject to weakness, disease, and ailments of various kinds than other men; their limbs were not more firmly knit,—their muscles were not capable of greater tension, save that their simple fare and continuous temperance gave and retained their strength: yet what they acquired by abstinence they frequently lost in "perils by cold," and in "watchings oft:" sickness, therefore, was no more a stranger to their community than it is to associations, clubs, or masonic lodges now: very often were they called upon to discharge the Christian duty of bearing one another's burdens. So we are not surprised to find especial directions given in their "Regula"

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for this purpose, nor, that they considered it rather medicinal and salutary than a hardship when one member suffered that all the members should suffer with it.

To meet their wants, supply their needs, procure them extra food, clothing, or fuel,—to give them the luxury of meat or wine, and, in short, to furnish them with things calculated to afford relief or comfort in their extremity, daily contribution was made in the church—made first as an offering to God, and then applied as God directs in providing for the sick and needy. Whether any brother required aid or not, there was (in addition to the fines levied for neglect, which were carefully preserved in a chest for the general purposes of the community, and in part applicable to this) a regular "oblatio," or almsgiving, and special offertories made for their sick, infirm, and aged: so that even a lay-brother, though he dwelt at some distance

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from the church, was entirely supported in every illness that befell him, and during the slow decay and languor * of increasing years.

The levying of pecuniary fines, and the voluntary offering among the Calendars, would lead one into the idea that this fraternity was differently constituted from those religious bodies which had only a common property; this was probably, at the time of which we are writing, the case, and may have arisen from their close connexion with the citizens, from their lay brethren holding occasional offices in the town, and, in later times, from the number of bequests &c., for commemorations — these circumstances brought them a varying income, and so made fines available; the "Regula" seems clearly to intimate that this was the case— the phrase "pœnam subeat sex denariorum,"

* "Si deciderit in languorem."—Regula.

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and such like, frequently occurring. Nor was attention bestowed only on temporal wants and bodily infirmities: hour after hour, morning, noon, evening, night, did the conjoined supplications of the brethren and sisters ascend to heaven in the sick brother's behalf, like for S. Peter, "prayer was made without ceasing of the church unto God for him," (Acts 12 c., 5 v.) The light which at day-break stole in at the east window, and that which at evening crimsoned the west,—the broad blaze of noon variegating the aisle floors with thousand hues from painted glass,* and the flickering glimmer at midnight from the lamps on the various altars, fell alike on the prostrate figures of those who were remembering a sick brother or sister in their prayers.

The best regulated institutions of man are liable to be occasionally disarranged: and

* "Fenestris vitreatis cum figurâ" (see also p. 84).

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this to teach us, among other lessons, that the calm of earth will at times be disturbed, for nothing human is perfect: if peace dwells any where in this world, ought we not to expect to find it most in the secluded cloister, and round the altars of that God of whom the Psalmist says, He shall "keep His people secretly in His tabernacle from the strife of tongues?" Those who framed the "Regula" for our Calendars knew full well what human nature was, and that the "strife of tongues" might sometimes mar the peaceful harmony of the brotherhood, and obtrude itself even into the "tabernacle:" no record remains to tell of such an event; so far as present memorials relate no one discordant note jarred their continued harmony;* still it

* Unless it be inferred from the following curious item, appended to an old inventory of the Church "Evidences," among those deeds of which, in Edward IV. time, they could give no certain explanation:—"Item 1 Evydens undyr ye Dene ys sele as for a stryfe ymade yn ye Churche, yat ye Churche schulde not stonde

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was proper to guard in their rules against such a painful and unbecoming contingency; and sadly trying must it have been to any proud heart or peevish spirit that may have existed in a Calendar brother or sister to be required to come speedily forward and confess before a full assembled chapter of prior and priests, and in the presence of the lay brethren, the sin into which it had been betrayed. If this, and such like humiliating but wholesome discipline, was not penitently complied with, the offender was pronounced to be cut off from the fraternity, (a confraternitate se noscat abscissum;) the same conditions rested on those who were unwilling cheerfully and regularly to bear their proportionate share of the burdens which fell,

suspendyd." We also find in the list of payments (Henry VI.) that a bill was "made to ye Byshope a genst ye prior of ye Kalendars and his brethryn." Whatever these disputes may have been, they existed between the proctors of the Church and the prior of the Calendars, not between the brethren themselves.

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both in and out of the church, on the whole body.

Independently of those duties, which in common with other monastic institutions, devolved on the Calendars, they appear, as we have seen, to have been particularly required to perform "obits"—services or masses for the faithful departed. It is no part of our present enquiry, how far the church either permits or disapproves the practise of prayers for the dead; the English ritual passes the subject in silence, and so will we. "The satisfactory and sufficient reason," says Mr. Palmer in his "Origines Liturgicæ," "for the omission of such prayers in the English Liturgy is that they were *inexpedient*."

It is not easy, however, encumbered as we are with modern notions and prejudices, to imagine the effect produced on the senses, we would also hope on the heart's best

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feelings, by the awfully impressive manner in which these services for the dead were performed. There were in All Saints Church seven or eight altars for chantries besides the high altar; the body of the church, nave aisles, may have been frequently seen filled with the friends of deceased persons, bearing flowers to hang in wreaths upon the respective altars or to strew upon the graves, and kneeling in silence, while in slow and measured tone the chantry priest chaunted the "Dirige," or "Placebo:" at other times may have been seen all the Calendar priests in their snowy* albs, or richer vestments;† with arms crossed and bending heads, standing almost immoveably, like lifeless

* "Dhe Calendarrs dyghte yn *blanche* vestmentes lyke to shemeryng *snowe*."—J. a'Dannburie.

† These were generally bequests; several are described as being of silk richly spangled with "*sterrys of golde*" (stars of gold), and others of light green cloth of gold "bawdkin," with the orfres of purple "bawdkin."

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figures,* in the innermost part of that deep chancel, and forming an effective group round the high altar. What kindly affection too, and pleasing solemnity hang over a provision made for the interment of any departed Calendar priest,—a provision introduced in a few simple words, and mentioned, as it would appear, quite casually, that whenever a priest should die, he should be carried to his grave by four brother priests, clad in surplices: a custom once generally prevalent all over England, but which has now fallen into disuse. Is it not a pious wish, that it be revived? whoever partakes with us in the high and fearfully responsible duties of ministering God's Word and Sacraments, may at least claim as a last kind act a brother's shoulders to bear him to his "long home." Thus we find Dr. Humphrey

* "Nullus confratrum, dum missa cantetur, discurrat, sed in cancello staret, aut genu flectat."—Regula.

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Henchman, *Bishop* of London, who ordained the pious George Herbert, saying, "I laid my hand on Mr. Herbert's head; and, alas! within less than three years, lent my shoulder to carry my dear friend to his grave."* Nor let it be imagined from the passing provision above referred to, that it was only the higher clergy—abbot, bishop, prior, or sub-prior — that received this attention, for many a Calendar priest was thus borne to burial, whose goods would not suffice† even to defray the expenses of the wax lights used in the procession.

* Isaak Walton.

† "Quibus si bona defuncti non sufficiant," &c.—Regula.

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" Old friends, old scenes, will lovelier be,
" As more of heaven in each we see."

KEBLE.

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CHAPTER IX.

THE CALENDARS' LIBRARY.—THEIR SCHOOLS FOR CONVERSION OF THE JEWS.—RESTORATION OF AL-HALLOWEN CHURCH.

THE time of these devoted men, as we before observed, was spent principally in prayer and praise: many an hour passed by and found them—not sometimes one and sometimes another, but all together assembled in the church; the residue of their day, with the exception of a limited space allotted to the refectory or bodily exercise, was fully employed in attendance at their library: nor was this occupation any sinecure: it was not only for their own study and improvement that this library was formed and

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maintained, but that the adult citizen should, at stated hours, there find food for his mind and the youth be instructed by these "spiritual pastors" in useful and religious learning. From the earliest times the care of the education of the people of this land has been entrusted to the English Church; and until she assume the entire control of it again, education cannot be sound, the unity of faith will be shattered, and the bond of peace broken. In addition, likewise, to the watchful care of providing proper mental food for adult Christians and teaching the young, their energies and affections were engaged on the side of winning wanderers to the true faith: unbelievers and misbelievers were the objects of their frequent anxieties and labours: we are not astonished, therefore, to learn that under their superintendence, and principally through their untiring efforts, schools were erected in

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connexion with their library, for "the conversion of Jews." Nor is it the least interesting result of our present research to be led into the belief that most probably some of the later Calendar brethren were converted Jews. The earliest account I have been able to find of the existence of this library is appended to a drawing (mentioned by Barrett) whereon it is stated, that the Kalendars' "bochorde," or library, was "ybuilden by Eva Fytzhardynge and Lewis de Ghente in 1092." The next is given in a deed, dated the Friday next after the feast of the apostles SS. Peter and Paul, in the year 1333, in which John,* who was then abbot of the monastery of S. Augustine, gave his licence and consent for its re-

* John Snow, abbot of S. Augustine, who died July 12, 1341. He succeeded Edmund de Knoll, said to have rebuilt the vestry and the church from the foundation. He procured from the Crown a confirmation of all the possessions belonging to the monastery, as appears in certain Charter Rolls of the 1st and 2nd Edward.

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erection. This licence was granted on the humble suit of the "co-brethren of the Fraternitie of Calendars;" their motive was a "devout zeal for the increase of divine worship;" and the building was intended for the "use and *habitation* of the priests' co-brethren:" and the deed ensures (so far as it could do it) "peaceable and unmolested possession to them and their successor priests for ever." Thus then they were always on the spot; the church gates were scarcely ever fastened; a close fulfillment of the prophecy, "thy gates shall be open continually; they shall not be shut day nor night"—Isa. 60 c., 11 v.: religious services were constantly being performed, and opportunity was thus offered to the harassed, whether by sin or worldly business, to enter at any hour, late or early, and lift up his heart in thanksgiving, or unburden the tale of his sins and his troubles to God.

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This deed speaks of the building, (the dimensions being expressly given) which was then erected adjoining to, and partly over, the Jesus Aisle, as having been intended as a "habitation" for the Calendar priests: no allusion is made in this document to the regulation or even actual existence of a public library beyond the mere building: a century, however, passes away, and we find another document relating to the same matter. It was in the spring of the year 1443, that the prior, sub-prior, and co-brethren met, after the usual duties of the church, in solemn conclave, to consider what they should do, as stewards of God, to promote, more than they hitherto had done, His holy worship, and benefit their fellow citizens, particularly the young and the unbelieving.

Their dwelling, which, at the best, was but poor and confined, was now found to be, if not inadequate, at least very incon-

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venient for their augmented numbers and increasing duties. The unpleasantness arising from confinement of space they were willing enough to bear; they sought no luxuries: but their dwelling was ill-arranged, and had fallen into a wretched state of dilapidation, almost without their knowledge; for we may easily imagine that men whose minds were deeply and incessantly engaged in sacred duties would think little of the slowly but surely advancing progress which decay was making on their abode till necessity compelled them; that they would scarcely bestow a thought on the inroads a hundred years would make on neglected and unrepaired materials, unless (which does not appear to have been the case in this instance) it was the office and duty of the Bursar, or some other brother to look after the building. It was not, however, so much the fault or wear of the material that they now met to repair,

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as to rectify, though late, so far as they could, the injury that had been done to God's house; and, as they were a considerable body of ecclesiastics, to lay themselves out more entirely for the good of their fellow citizens. They determined, therefore, to petition, without loss of time, the abbot of S. Augustine for licence to re-build their little habitation in such a manner, that the beautifully enamelled church windows, highly wrought arches, storied roof, &c., &c., which had been encroached upon by their already narrow dwelling, might be restored to their pristine beauty; and their house, though even made smaller by such alterations, become through the medium of a library, available to the citizens. It was on the feast of S. Edmund the Archbishop, 1443,* that they

* All Saints, Bristol, had now from a considerable period been impropriated. Impropriations were by this time very generally practised by the larger religious houses; from these, at the disso-

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obtained the object of their pious wishes: their expressed intention being that the "church of Al-hallowen might receive greater beauty and ornament for the honour of God, and that the said prior, his co-brethren, and the parishioners, and other faithful persons, might be bound and obliged more abundantly and willingly to make and pour forth their prayers *daily for ever*." It seems that a heavy burden had lain upon their consciences, not only that the church had been encroached on and darkened by their habitation, but that this encroachment had been made on that part of it which they regarded as especially holy, namely, "the chapel of the Blessed Virgin"; a chapel which appears to have been the darling

lution of monasteries, they passed mostly into the hands of laymen, where, unfortunately, too many of them still remain. The abbot, in granting the licence above alluded to, thus styles himself, "Nos in *proprios usus* obtinentes ecclesiam," &c., &c.

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object on which one devoted Calendar poured forth the most ardent of his soul's pious feelings; building it entire, adorning its windows with a story of the "Te Deum laudamus," and providing for its reparation and beauty, as well as for sacred services to be performed therein *for ever* (in ppetuum). It was the last portion of the church on which one would think they would encroach, or suffer to fall into decay; it was not situated, as is most usual in large collegiate churches, at the extreme east, but, as we have said, on the north side;—the same peculiarity (if such it be) of situation for our Lady's Chapel the reader will remember obtains in Bristol Cathedral. Another encroachment on the church is made on the south-west part, for the vicarial manse, or parsonage: this appears to be, and justly is, offensive to modern view, particularly when the secular purposes for which these

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houses are now used are borne in mind; but they are by no means solitary instances; we often read* of buildings being erected over the porches of churches, and actually *into* churches for residences of hermits and chantry priests. To give one example, at Bicknor, in Kent, a room projects nearly *across* the aisle and under the church's roof.† Obtaining this licence from the abbot was a relief to their burdened conscience, and a great point gained. The cost was heavy and sore; it vexed them not, for it was for God's glory: so they cheerfully gave up their few comforts, joined personally in the labour, and by their own manual aid abbreviated the interruption to their holy services; not that these were discontinued even for a day, for dust and rubble and the "pygtynge" down of masonry

* S. Dunelm, 44.

† Halsted's Kent, v. 568. Fosbroke's Antiquities, 133 (note). This subject is more fully treated in chapter 14.

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will not hinder a devoted soul from contriving a place for prayer. Still from within those same hallowed walls the voice of praise and supplication, with the same frequency as heretofore, ascended to heaven, and when the restorations were completed, and richer ornament bestowed on God's house, and greater encouragement afforded to God's people, there were not wanting those who appreciated the self-sacrifice, disinterestedness, and labours of our Calendars. Among the first of these was the Vicar of the church, Sir William Rodberd; even while the restorations were only in contemplation, lest death should anticipate his good deed, he, on the Feast of the Decollation of S. John the Baptist, declared his fixed determination of devoting to this pious purpose some important property, the recovery of which he had just effected; and, living to see the work finished, he, on the Christmas Eve which closed their labours, made it chargeable

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to nearly its whole value. But the most noble gift was that of the prior himself. Whatever wealth he had, appears to have accrued from long savings, procured principally by continued fasting, self-denial, and shunning of luxuries. To him, though we are not to attribute the *origin* of the library, we are certainly to ascribe its most flourishing and important condition—a prosperity not permitted to last long. Sir John Gyllard, prior of the Calendars, expended on the library the princely sum of £217. To estimate fairly the value of this amount, I have but to tell the reader that there is now before me a document bearing date about twenty years later, wherein an agreement is entered into by a certain party "to make well, workmanly, and surely, with "good timber, a house in High-street, with "floors, windows, partitions, &c., the said "house having a shop, a hall above the shop "with an oriel window; a chamber above the

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"hall with an oriel window, and another "chamber above that," &c., &c., for all which the other party covenants to pay the sum sterling of £6 13s. 4d. Now the deed expressly states that this was the sum to be paid for building the *whole*,* not merely a part of the house; the only perquisite allowed to the builder was the old timber; the money, being considerable in those days, was to be paid by three instalments. To estimate, then, the value of this disinterested prior's benefaction and zeal, we must bear in mind that he gave towards the supply and maintenance of the library alone, a sum equal to the cost of building 30 of the smaller houses in High-street, adorned, as they then were, with projections, graduating upwards and terminating in gables, ornamented with quaintly wrought timber

* The parish minute book contains all the particulars (specifying even the quantity of nails used) of building a house in the same neighbourhood, in the year 1443; the expenses amount to £7. 5s. 3d.

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and pargeting. A mingled feeling steals over us in the contemplation of these records—a feeling made up partly of admiration and partly of regret; of admiration, that a man should offer such a sacrifice for the benefit of his fellow-citizens and for the cause of religion in general; of regret, that a library so valuable and curious should have been destroyed through the carelessness of a drunken man; however, drunkenness only did that which avarice and revenge* would have done at a later period; had it escaped the rash act of a temulent point-maker,† the ruthless hands of royal commissioners would have been soon

* "Whatever advantages have resulted from the dissolution of monasteries and other religious houses, no praise is due to Henry, since it is unquestionable that *avarice and revenge* were the tyrant's only motives for their dissolution."

CORRY'S BRISTOL.

† Point-maker—a maker of lace tagged, or tag-laces. The circumstance above referred to thus appears in a minute-book belonging to the church:—"And yn her yer // housys next ye styple wer ybrent by / dronkyn poyntmaker,"—"And in their year two

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busied in its destruction. It is useless now to indulge any feelings of regret; the loss sustained is, and ever will be, irretrievable, yet when we think of the hundreds of volumes contained in that library, including valuable manuscripts of religious, national, and local interest, and the time spent in teaching our forefathers, when young, the duties they owed to their God, their king, their country, and their city, we may at least allow that a debt of gratitude is due to the memory of the Calendar brethren. Of their manuscripts, two or three only now remain, and these are so imperfect, damaged by damp, torn, and otherwise injured, that we cannot but deeply regret

houses next the steeple were burnt by a drunken point-maker."

Shakspeare (Henry IV, part 2) frequently uses this word, thus—

"If my young lord, your son, have not the day,
"Upon mine honor, for a single *point*
"I'll give my barony."

Again—

"What! with two *points* on your shoulder."

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the thoughtlessness which has subjected them to such ill-treatment. Among these MSS. we may reckon the parish minute-book of the time of Henry VI. and Edward IV., a book not strictly to be considered the composition of the Calendars because it extends through a long series of years, and is written by various hands. There is also a latin transcript of the "blessed Seynte Augustine," "de visitatione infirmorum," and "de vitâ Xrianâ," with extracts from an address of S. Bernard to the "Monks of the Mount of God:" and, likewise, sadly mutilated, partly on vellum and partly on paper, (illuminated) what seems to be a copy of a portion of the writing of the Holy S. Gregory, that good man to whom, under God, we are indebted for a great part of our impressive litany and beautiful collects.

It is but justice to bear in mind that it was during the reigns of our third Edward and his immediate successors that the principal privi-

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leges, immunities, and rights were granted to the burgesses of Bristol, on account of their *loyalty* and *other excellencies;* and it was during these reigns that the Calendars were in the zenith of their influence. *Their* books and teaching mainly contributed to form, mould, and confirm the minds of the citizens; we say *mainly* contributed, because theirs was the only *public* library in Bristol; other religious houses had a large store of books, and some of their members were regularly engaged in producing, copying, and illuminating manuscripts, but the peculiar office of the Calendars was to instruct those who were *not* brethren of any religious order. It was the *Calendars* who gave a character to the train of literary thought which pervaded the more studious of the townspeople: *they* spoke to the youths of the deep mysteries of Christ's religion, training their ductile minds on the teaching of the church, enforcing reverence to the

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higher powers, and curbing and reproving tendencies to go astray. Old and young came within the scope of their influence, not omitting those who held public offices, particularly members of the council chamber. The consequence is, that the good folks of "Aunciente Brystowe" were not only ever accounted the most loyal but the most christian of English people; and so we find that the council men frequented the daily prayers and mass in common with the other citizens, and were also invariably present at particular chantries and other special services. Our civic rulers in those simple days had been well taught to consider that religious duties were to be the principal concern, and municipal calls, however important, to be made subservient. It need awaken no surprise, then, that in their official characters, the mayor, sheriff, common council, and others in authority, habitually kept the festivals and fasts of the church; no proces-

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sions were formed, or business of more than ordinary import transacted by them, without first assembling in a body at some church for prayer that the mercies of God may rest upon them. No national blessing was vouchsafed but what in the church a special thanksgiving was observed by all, led on by their christian rulers; for example—when news arrived that the siege of Calais was raised, on that occasion we read of no triumphal arches, merchant feasts, or pot-house debauchery, it was a strictly *religious* observance throughout the whole city.* And lest the habit of attending some particular church on special occasions should have a tendency to disturb order, or mar the beauty of the parochial system, over and over again do we find it expressly recorded, that when their official tasks were

* "Itm for beryng of ye crosse ye Sonneday byfor Seynt "Laurens ys day, for *breykng of ye sege of Calais.*" 1437.

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done, and their refreshments of "spiced cake-brede and wyne" dispatched, they returned "*every one to his own parish church for even-song.*"

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" But sadder strains and direr bodings dark
" Come haunting round the Almighty's captive ark."

* * * *

* * * *

" To hew the holy gold away,
" And seize the portion as they may."

LYRA APOSTOLICA.

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CHAPTER X.

CECILIA DE LA WARRE.—MONEY STOLEN FROM THE PRIORY OF THE CALENDARS FOR THE USE OF THE COUNCIL CHAMBER.

CONTINUED peace has never fallen to the lot of the visible church; and this may have been lest saints on earth should be tempted to forget the "rest that remaineth." Heavy persecutions, the sword, the rack, the arena, were the full-wreathed crimson flowers which formed the crown of martyrdom for some; and petty, intestine, wearing disputes framed the component parts of the crown of others. Neither of these kinds of persecution seems to have fallen to the lot of the Calendars.

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Whatever may have been the fate of the *founders* of their order; they, of whom we write, had not been called upon to defend their faith at the price of life. None of the brethren had yet fallen a victim to bigotry, or been "butchered to make a holiday." Equally undisturbed had their course been by internal divisions; for rich and full and calm as the costly oil which descended from Aaron's beard was their unity. Still there were those who envied them their quiet and peace; who hated them, perhaps for the just reproofs they administered; attributed their holy labours to unholy motives, and endeavoured to raise among the citizens a feeling of contempt towards their order. Many instances of this narrowness of spirit may be traced out, and as few things are more strongly characteristic of a little mind than dealing in insinuations but shrinking from open charges, we find the opposition offered

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to them principally exhibiting itself in this way. Nor were their enemies contented with vexing them by talk and whispered allusions, they often took care to glance unkindly at them in their legal engagements and covenants, and even in their wills, thus carrying their feelings of animosity with them into the grave; and by their last acts adopting measures to perpetuate the mischief they were so desirous of effecting. We offer the following as an example, (though we suspect it to be by no means the most flagrant) as showing the indirect mode of attack assumed to subdue the influence of this priory.

It was well known that the Calendars were designated by a title corresponding with the French "religieuse," being usually termed in legal and other documents religious men; but this they had in common with other conventual establishments; so in order

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to point them out more strongly it was necessary to fix on some distinguishing peculiarity in them : this was readily supplied by the circumstance of their teaching *Jews*, and that some of these, after their conversion to the Christian faith, had become Calendar brethren. This was a prominent mark offered to the shaft of indirect malice. So by a deed poll, of uncertain date, one Cecilia de la Warre granted to William de Novo Burgo certain property in All Saints parish, with full liberty to sell it to any purchasers, with the specific exception of "*religious persons and Jews.*" This woman, who, most probably, herself dwelt, or certainly whose tenants dwelt, under the shadow of the priory tower, and within sound of its ever-going bell, was determined to hand down to posterity her hatred of those whose influence for good was felt on every side of her own property or residence. We shortly afterwards

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meet with her as a married woman, but cherishing a like inviduous spirit, her husband being (we would hope, unwittingly) drawn into the same. In a joint deed effected by them, after marriage, a clause is most carefully introduced to the effect that any benefit which may accrue from the purchase of the recited property should not be extended to the "*Clergy and Jews.*" Ah, Cecile! may we not suspect that your excessive, and by this time inveterate, rancour towards "religious men and Jews" arose from that short but heated conversation which you held with the prior of the Calendars touching a tender question in which you were deeply interested? Doubtless, in after life some moments of reflection may have awakened the wish that your impetuosity had not gained the mastery over your better feelings! The circumstances, as nearly as we can gather them, were as follows: one morning when matins were

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over the prior had retired, as his custom was, for private study and meditation; an impressive sight it was to watch that aged man, with his silvery beard, shrunk form, and wasting eye, absorbed in thoughts of the world unseen as he pored over the sublime meditations of the holy Bernard till he made them his own; though standing on the brink of this side Eternity's dark stream, he held such close communion that heart seemed linked in heart with those elder brethren who had already crossed to the further shore. His peaceful hour was destined, on the morning in question, to be interrupted: one of the inferior brethren entering with reverential step, announced the approach of an unusual visitor; a minute passed, and there stood before him a lady tall and beautiful. She had not seen more than thirty summers; her hair was braided with a rich chaplet of diamonds and pearls; one

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long cluster of raven ringlets drooped over her left shoulder; her dress, though not studied, was of the most costly character, and she drew near rather as one accustomed to command, than as a meek maiden about to seek the counsel of her spiritual adviser. She presented a striking contrast to the simple, lowly, and humble-minded sisters belonging to the priory; an acute observer would have little difficulty in detecting in that bright eye and curled lip a haughtiness of spirit that would ill brook being thwarted. It was manifest, however, that on this occasion there was some uncontrollable timidity mingled with her usual high bearing; one might have seen in her a laboured attempt at unconcern made by a mind deeply sensible that it was bent on doing what was wrong. About the superior hung a frankness and good nature which speedily removed any timidity she may at first have felt; her

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mission was soon opened; the tale of her love told; her determination of matrimony avowed, and the aged prior's advice and blessing sought. "Marriage," said he, "is an honorable estate instituted of God in the time of man's innocency, and may not be lightly taken in hand; the Christian virgin should prepare herself by rigid discipline and penitential acts before she presume to partake of that great sacramental mystery, as the Apostle defines it; she should well consider that like the Church to Christ, so she to her husband, must be a pure, harmless, holy bride: her fidelity and affection must emulate the Church's devotion for her heavenly Master. In thy veins, Cecilia," he continued, "still runs the blood of thy devout forefathers, who to the glory of God erected in this our city the hospital of S. Bartholomew, and whose love for Christ caused the fair waves of Avon to reflect in their glassy bosom

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the costly turrets of S. Anne; but on whom deigns their wealthy descendant to bestow her hand?"

"My object in intruding on your solitude," haughtily replied she, "was not, Sir Prior, to gratify an unjustifiable curiosity,—it was not to supply a new subject of conversation for your brethren in their refectory, or for the wimpled maidens in their dormitory: I came to thee, as in duty bound, to ask thy ghostly counsel, as to the method by which our Holy Mother Church would have me prepare for the Sacrament of Matrimony; but yet—" and she paused a moment, as though in doubt whether she would proceed,—"but yet, a daughter of the house of the Baron de la Warre will not, cannot, shrink from avowing what she is proud to feel, and will be prouder still to effect. She denies your right to task her thus; and though your keen eye may detect a momentary quiver about this lip, and

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a passing flush upon this cheek, yet within is a heart that will never quail beneath the frown of an imperious priest! Know then, since you *will* hear it, that a few more suns will rise and set, and the towers of Landaff shall reëcho the free shout of merriment, and the joyous chimes of Landaff bells shall bound merrily along the heather crags on the nuptial morn of the archdeacon's bride!" A cloud passed over the prior's brow, but it lingered not; his eye kindled with animation, perhaps with anger, but it was as short-lived as a flake of snow upon a summer's stream. "An *archdeacon's bride!*" he firmly repeated, "an *archdeacon's bride!* And can it be, that a daughter of the Church can thus disgrace her profession?—can it be, that one over whom I have watched from her cradle, who has been regenerated in the sacred waters of Baptism, and trained in all the ordinances of our Holy Mother can

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raise a matricidal hand against her, and tempt one of her ministers to evade his vow of celibacy? Can it be, that you can thus cast an eternal blot on the hitherto untarnished scutcheon of the founder of S. Anne's?"

"I have done so already," was her quick reply, "already have I but too deeply stained that fair atchievement by stooping to consult the poor dotard chief of a paltry brotherhood. You may refuse,—you may blame,—you may threaten,—but, *there are means!*" With these words, uttered in an indignant tone, and accompanied with a haughty look of disdain, Cecilia de la Warre abruptly closed the interview. Shortly after, availing herself of a growing laxity in ecclesiastical discipline, she contrived to become the archdeacon's wife.

It is but just to add, (though it does not appear to have been the case in this instance) that an archdeacon *may* have been

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a layman, although holding an official situation in the Church: just as we know that laymen may have been deans and prebendaries until they were excluded by the Act of Uniformity. Still a consistent prior would not sanction such conduct, and when referred to, would, of course, unhesitatingly declare his disapprobation. The obscure wording, also, of these old documents leaves it somewhat doubtful whether the hand of the haughty Cecile, so impatient of rebuke, was coveted by the archdeacon or the archdeacon's son: either case, if the said official was a clerk, supposes a breach of ecclesiastical discipline; for whether a father or a husband he must have forsaken his vow of celibacy; and this would necessarily draw down on the fair applicant ecclesiastical censure, because by her marriage with such a person she made herself a party in the irregularity. This circumstance will,

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in a great measure, account for the unwearied zeal with which she, ever after, sought out opportunites of evincing her ill-will towards the priory.

We will tax our readers patience with only one instance more of these petty annoyances. Our object in referring to them is to bring forward the causes which cramped the influence of the Calendars, and led the way to further aggressions. Unprincipled men soon found out that the subdued spirits of these brethren, trained, as they were, never to repay evil with evil, were just the objects on which they might most easily exercise wrong. How grievous is it that the very calmness of meek spirits often most exposes them to injury; and still more grievous that those who are in authority, and ought to be the foremost to shelter the unarmed and protect the innocent, sometimes avail themselves of an opportunity

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of doing wrong with impunity, because wreaked on well disciplined, calm, and forgiving minds! The fact we are about to relate is recorded among the annals of our own corporation, and is entered, with the fewest possible words, in "the Maire of Bristowe is register," by the pen of one of the lay brothers. This Calendar tells us, with a simplicity that bespeaks truth, that money was "stolen by the Counseile from the priory of Al-hallowen."

Poor men! they were not only destined, in common with other religious houses, to have their plate, including gold and silver, ships, tabernacles, cups, patens, chalices, crucifixes, &c., of curious workmanship, inlaid with crystals and rubies, appropriated to his own private purposes by one Sovereign,* and their tenements (so many of them at least as escaped *his* hands, or were restored by Mary) confiscated

* Henry VIII.

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and sold by another,* but they were subject also to cruel peculations even from those who were most indebted to them. Certes, a visit from royalty was a heavy expense to the loyal citizens of Bristol; and when a courier brought word to the Council that it was the good will and pleasure of that oft defeated and depressed monarch Henry the Sixth to pay Bristol another visit (I think it was in the 27th year of his reign†), the members of

* Queen Elizabeth,—the virgin monarch, "*good* Queen Bess" as she is popularly styled; but we have just reason to question the applicability of that epithet to her. "The field, the dance, the bear garden, the stage, (says the Rev. Mr. Haweis, in his Sketches of the Reformation) succeeded constantly and rapidly on her morning studies in Theology. She was a gay, worldly, scheming woman ..... The circulation of immoral books appears to have received a stimulus in her reign." At one time eight play-houses were open every Sunday, in which much Fescennine licence was taken. "I speak it with sorrow of heart," says William Alley, a jolly preacher in the 2nd year of the Queen's reign, "to our vice ballet-makers and enditors of wanton songs, no revengement but rewards are largely paid and given."

† An entry of the expense for ringing the bells of Al-hallowen on this occasion is thus made in the Churchwardens' accounts:—"Itm to Ryngerys a genst ye Kynge."

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that august body were astonished and pressed down, as well they might have been, under the weight of their increasing and expensive honours. Their hearts were full of loyalty, but, unfortunately, their coffers were empty of gold: How were these latter to be replenished? In this dilemma, they bethought them at once of the prior and co-brethren of Calendars. Hard savings out of their pittances, and the accumulations of many years (for their wants were few; or, if numerous, not freely indulged), had obtained for them the character of possessing some wealth. But, reasoned these honourable (?) councilmen, what need have such self-denying men of gold? what need have *they* of money, who, like the Cluniacs, when nature requires sleep are awake, when they would eat are made to fast? Surely gold must be valueless to them, whose night is for the most part passed in

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praying in the church, and their day in sacred works and study! Surely, little call can they have to make on pecuniary sources, whose refectory supplies them for meat, with eggs and beans with their pods on; and for drink (boisson des beufs), liquor fit for oxen,* at best but poor and (mouillè) watered wine. Such wealth, while in their possession, apparently useless, in fact quite lost on them, would be very serviceable to us most honorable members of a most honorable council, particularly on this occasion of a repeated royal visit! Thus thought and thus argued the chief speakers in that august civic conclave: and their argument prevailed, "Majori parti placuit," for the result of the debate in the council hall that day was, that the bailiffs received certain orders, which they obeyed to the very letter, though, as it would seem, not

* Query—Beef-tea.

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without some compunction of conscience; for as recorded in the "Maire is register," though they brought many pounds sterling to "*the use of the chambre,*" yet it was "*agenst theyre wille, for they were coerced thereto by the Counseille, whyche money, as it was saide, was stole from the priory of Alhallowen.*" The day named by the royal visitant soon arrived; bells were ringing, flags were flying, motley crowds with cheerful faces and decked in best attire, were, at an early hour, seen hurrying towards the gate of S. Nicholas, from the portals and subterranean chapel of whose church issued a goodly flock refreshed by matin prayers: these helped to swell, by their numbers, the multitude of citizens anxious to give a cordial welcome to their sovereign. The Mayor, the Vice-comes or Sheriff, and the Baliffs, who had now for once suffered their loyalty to get the better of their sense of justice,

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were brilliantly attired, and their horses richly caparisoned. The day passed with the hilarity, cheerfulness, and extra indulgence common to such occasions, the civic feasts were plentiful, and the "*cuppes were filled right merrille aboute,*" so that the gay monarch and his retinue were in all things "*moste worchepefully*" entertained: but when that festive day was over, and the citizen had returned to his counter, and the dame had laid aside her costly* minever and satin, little was thought of the price paid for the pageantry; little was it thought that through many a long winter's night the fagot would blaze less cheerily in the hall, or the head roll more restlessly on the log,† that hard substitute for a pillow,

* On one occasion some Bristolians were *fined* for the costliness of their wives' and daughters' dresses: so that they paid the double tax, of their wives' extravagance and the magistrates' sentence.

† "We, ourselves, have lyen full oft upon straw pallettes . . . . and a good rounde LOGGE under our heades insteade of a boulster."

"Pillowes, sayde they, were thougt meete onely for women in childebed." Hollinshed.

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in the dark and straitened sollar,* the dormitory of the Calendars! We hear of no complaint from them: no murmur is reported to have issued from their lips: the circumstance had never escaped, it would not now be known to us, were it not for the dry matter-of-fact entry of an official who mentions it without a comment. Such an act of injustice was as uncalled for, as it is happily unprecedented, in the annals of Bristol council-men. Naturally enough may our Calendars have complained of the ill-treatment they received in requital for the benefits they had conferred on the citizens: but, in their view, a very essential part of their religion was to bring their minds into that state which would quietly, nay, even thankfully, receive injuries, which would honor the Temple above the gold, and lead them to consider that there was a holiness

* Sollar—an upper room. The word is often used by ancient writers in this sense, thus—"In the *Solyer* where the Souper of Jhesu Cryst and of hys Appostles was made."—Gold: Leg: XIX.

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in poverty borne for their Master's sake. We may fairly regard this example of patience under injuries as a criterion of their usual conduct,—as a part of their spiritual system,—as one flower culled from amongst the thousand which bloomed on their borders,—as a sample, like the grapes of Eshcoll, of what the whole vineyard bore.

The names of the authors of this cruel and sacriligious act ought not to lie hid, though we may hope that they lived to repent of their sin, and "where they had done injury or wrong made amends to the uttermost of their power."*

Richard Fforster was the mayor who "*coerced*" his servants to do what was wrong; and William Rollfe and John Wykam were the pusillanimous bailiffs who, though "*agenst theyre wille*," knowingly committed a theft at the solicitation of another.

* Rubrick in "The Visitation of the Sick."

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" Dies iræ, dies illa,
" Crucis expandens vexilla,
" Solvet seclum in favillâ.

" Quantus tremor est futurus,
" Quando judex est venturus,
" Cuncta strictè discussurus !"

O YE SPIRITS
AND SOULS OF THE RIGHTEOUS,
BLESS YE THE LORD;
PRAISE HIM,
AND MAGNIFY HIM
FOR EVER !

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CHAPTER XI.

SECULARITY SPREADS IN THE BROTHERHOOD.—ROBERT RICART, "THE MAIRE YS KALENDAR."—RICART AND CANYNGE COMPARED.

A contagious worldliness had by this time more or less infected the religious houses in England, and was spreading with fearful rapidity on every side. Nothing so much tended to the decline of monastic establishments as their growing secularity. Covetousness, cunning, intemperance, and almost every species of sin, were to be found beneath the cowl and cloak; and those which in the midst of an almost universal depravity were able to keep

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themselves from the grosser acts, were too often infected with the poison of worldly mindedness. It is not to be expected that our Calendars would altogether escape the wretched effects of such a widely spread miasma. It does not appear that any deadly sin is to be laid to their charge either collectively or individually; but that fearful root of evil, the love of money, had struck its fibres deeply into their community, so that even religious offices were desecrated by being forced to subserve worldly purposes. Vigorous were the efforts now made to obtain oblations: every kind (whether sanctioned by Catholic usage or not) of anniversary, obit, and prayers for the departed was instituted; costly and curious offerings on their several shrines were encouraged, and the dying urged to avail themselves by gold of the Church's prayers. And while this was being carried on by the clerics, the lay

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brethren were alike active in their department, seeking and courting civic offices, for which, from their former character, aptitude for business, and great influence, they were seldom unsuccessful applicants. It is an ill wind, says a proverb, which blows no one any good: to this secular spirit, unworthy as it was, and deeply to be deprecated, we are indebted for the good fortune of obtaining more account of our Calendars than would otherwise be supplied, —though, as it is, we are but gleaners,— the most we know is but incidentally noticed: a fire, as we have before observed, is said to have destroyed all the books and manuscripts belonging to the library, which was one of the two houses adjoining the Church "styple" that were "ybrent;" had it not, therefore, happened that one of the lay brothers was elected Town-clerk in the reign of Edward IV. we should have been able

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to obtain still fewer memorials than those we have. This was one Robert Ricart, clever in pen, quick in accounts, shrewd in intellect, and not wanting in judgment. His capabilities were duly appreciated by those in authority, and his worldly gifts not suffered to lie unemployed. He retained, as we find, through the residue of his life, a most grateful recollection of the happy hours he had paseed in Al-hallowen Church and its Priory; and, perhaps, in the midst of worldly tumults often sighed for the holy quiet he once enjoyed within their precincts; by his last will he secured a sum of money to be annually paid, in equal proportions, to the Church and the Fraternity of which he had been, in his purer days, a brother or fellow. Among other particulars concerning him we learn that he was commanded by that "famouse and discrete psonne William Spenser, Maire of Bristol in the reign of

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oure moost dradde souvryne lord King Edwarde the fourth, to devise, ordaine, and make a book, to be called or named the Maire of Bristowe is register, or ellis the Maire is kalendar." In devising this, his monkish genius is very apparent, but amidst all its oddities and quaintness there is something very beautiful, and, to our cold-hearted age, reproving, in the rude emblematic drawing with which he commences his labours. Who would *now* think it necessary or advisable to prefix an emblazoned representation of some important scene in the life of Christ, wrought out with extreme care by the author's own hand, to a book recording civic rules, processions, appointments and expenses? nay, is it not to be regretted that we have fallen so much into the way of considering that our duties to the world are necessarily to be abscinded from all reference to religion? not that

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appending a pictorial representation of a Christian doctrine to a book of accounts is at once a proof of the piety of the author; but when we find allusions to the great truth of Redemption shown during any given age or successive ages in all that was publicly said, done, or written; in debates, letters, books, parchments, scrolls, tapestry, buildings, niches, ornaments, we have certainly some evidence that, as a nation, they outwardly (charity will suppose inwardly too) did it to the glory of God. In fact, Ricart declares in his opening sentence that this was his chief object in forming his manuscript, telling us (in Latin) that he composed it for "the honor of Almighty God and the glory and praise of His Blessed Mother," adding to it the prayer that "the Holy Mary would be propitious to his undertaking." We have nothing to do with this semi-cleric changeling Calendar's religious opinions: he writes and

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depicts as a layman—as an official—as the Town-clerk of Bristol, and yet glories in his religion; he did not think his memoirs would be less acceptable to Christian people because they occasionally referred to religious duties, and were sent abroad with what was, according to his view, a Christian frontispiece and dedication. As this drawing is fully explained by Barrett, in his History of Bristol, I refer the reader to his description of it, only remarking, that what he calls "an angel with a trumpet" is no other than one waving a "thuribulum," or incense vessel.

The idea, so prevalent in those and many former days, of praying for the dead is found interspersed throughout his whole register: such as, when speaking of the "worshipful and aunciente fadres who purchased the franchises of Bristowe," he writes,

"I can no more say for them that now lieth in cheste,
But pray to God send their sowles good reste."

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And again, referring to those who "built the Castell of Bristowe, and founded the Abbey of Seint Austyne" he adds,

"Almighty God rewarde them in hevyn
For al we are bound to praye for the same."

The character of his opinions, respecting some of our kings, as well as of his Latinity, may be conjectured from the following:

"Willmus Rufus."

"Grata sagitta fuit Willm quæ premebat
Dirâ morte ruit qui dira frequenter agebat."

"Henricus sec."

"Hic est Henricus sub quo passus repitur
Præsul magnificus Thomas gladioque feritur."

"Johannes."

"Quis dolet aut doluit de regis morte Johis
Qui nulli placuit dum vixit pluribus annis."

He has left us scarcely any specimen of his attempts at *English* poesy, but we furnish our reader with one made by Willielmus, a brother Calendar, "yus he wroten, as I

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amm toulde," says J. a'Dannburie, "dhe Lorde hys prayre:"

"Ur fadre, yat yn heavyn ys;
Whoe hallyed scheold bee iwis;
Hie kyngdo comen us ontoe;
Hie volunde on aerthe don alsoe,
As bene yn heavyn brighte;
Hie hallie brede senden aie
On yis ande ylk oder daie;
For yeven ous sinis ydon
As for yeven us uch oder mon;
Ne fondyng letten us amynge;
Botte syld ous fro dhe wycke foule thynge."

A Latin manuscript also, partly on vellum and partly on paper, and bearing manifold evidence of having been written by a Calendar brother, still exists though greatly mutilated; at the end is added a curious series of reasons why the Apostles were *twelve* in number. The only piece of English in it affords a quaint specimen of the versification of his day. Damp, erasure, and ill-usage

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have severally contributed to render it illegible in certain portions. Thus it runs:

"These xii. Apostles under figure
I shal declare in short manere,
In the olde lawe bi scripture,
Pfigured by priarchs* xii. they were
In gendring feyth us to lere,†
They . . . . first that dede make
Holy churche for goddis sake."

Serviceable, however, as Ricart's abilities were to the council chamber; pleased as we may be with his rude drawings; and even thankful under the circumstances that he sought and obtained the office of Town Clerk; yet he must not be screened from the censure he so justly deserves of forgetfulness of higher vows, and of lending a helping hand to fan into a flame the fire of destruction, not at this time openly seen indeed, but most surely smouldering. What a contrast is afforded by *his* conduct and

* Patriarchs. † Learn.

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that of Canynge! one a member of a holy brotherhood, leaving the solemn peacefulness of his order for secular gaieties and civic excitement; the other, an honored Bristol merchant, throwing aside his robe of fur and scarlet, and his spangled gauntlet, and seeking the quiet of retirement in the Benedictine College at Westbury. One, leaving the seclusion of his primary vocation—the monotonous round of monastic services—the self-subduing habits of a cenobite order, and burying himself in mercantile cares and magisterial duties: the other, casting aside his gloves, his robes, his mace and all the insignia of office,—tearing himself from worldly honors, high friendship and princely companionship, giving up earthly ties, even refusing an alliance* urged by the most powerful of

* Dallaway calls this a "silly tradition." The Mayor's Register however has the following entry: Canynge was "to be maried by the Kyng our souvrain lord's commandmt, as it was saide, but gave up the worlde, and in all haste toke orders upon hym of the gode Bisshop of Worcestre, called Carpynter, and was made priest and sang his furst masse at our lady of Redclif the yere followyng."

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this *world's* inducements, a king's proposal; and backed by the strongest of *nature's* inducements, a lady pure and beautiful, and high in the regal court; and, for what? that he may spend the residue of his life in holy loneliness and contemplation, in acts of self-denial and penitence, in continuous prayer and praise. The contrast is striking; but withal there was nothing singular and uncommon in the course adopted by Canynge. He did what thousands of others had done; he did what hundreds around him were doing; thinking, as they did, that having been born alone, and destined to die alone, a habit of loneliness aids much the establishment and fixidity of the Christian character. The venerable Bede informs us that many English, noble and low-born, vied with each other in leaving the world and devoting themselves to a religious life. More than one Saxon king have laid aside their crowns and assumed the monastic habit:

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no marvel then that Canynge, wearied with the world, should have humbly knelt (though he was mayor of no mean city) at the Abbey gate of Westbury, and earnestly craved admission into the order. We find him an acolyte in 1467, and a priest the year following. What a change! The rich robes of a Bristol merchant abandoned for a monk's rough cloak! the uproar of public excitement for the silence of a cloister! the gaiety of city feasts for the poor fare and fastings of a convent! the reception of royalty for the washing of a worne pilgrim's feet! An idea of this kind once possessing the soul of a fervently religious man influences him through life and accompanies him to his death-bed. Without any undue stretch therefore of imagination we may bring before our minds the dying Canynge, supported on his hard mattress by two brother monks, and with lean, bony, quivering hand

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sketching (as we are informed he did) a design for his own monument, still to be seen in Redcliff Church, which simply tells his tale of having left the world for God. A recumbent priest, resting his feet on a distorted figure, intimates his having put off the old man of worldly turmoil and sin, and trampled it under foot, though the triumph gained, was gained, as it always is, with personal agony—an intimation, plain enough, that he who would crucify the flesh with its affections and lusts, must submit to sufferings ; for there can be no crucifixion without pain. Canynge's is not the only example afforded that a man to be a disciple of Christ, must be a sufferer—"all great saints have had great trials."

Thou Noble Offspring of noble parentage! If we may not fulfil thy wish "Orate pro animabus," &c., we may yet "bless God for thy "departure in His faith and fear;"

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we may beseech Him to "give us grace to follow (thy) good example;" we may pray Him that with (thee) "we may be partakers of His heavenly kingdom; we may beseech Him to grant that we with (thyself and) "all those who are departed in the true faith of His holy name may have our perfect consummation and bliss in His eternal and everlasting glory."

Canynge, thou noble offspring of noble parentage! grandson emulating and surpassing the zeal and Christian love which glowed in the breast of thy father, and father's parent! while that "pride and boast of Western lands," the glorious fabric of S. Mary, Redcliffe, remains,—so long as Englishmen can feel as Englishmen,—so long as the Church's sons continue to admire the "beauty of holiness," and love to see the Great "King's daughter all glorious," thousands, and tens of thousands, shall extol and reverence thy name,

O, CANYNGE!

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" Snatched sudden from th' avenging rod,
" Safe in the bosom of thy God;
" How wilt thou then look back and smile
" On thoughts that bitterest seemed erewhile;
" And bless the pangs that made thee see
" This was no world of rest for thee."

CHRISTIAN YEAR.

" Why, say some of these men, can you not live as the Apostles " lived? Why, say I again, let them lay down their goods at the Apostles' feet, and then let them ask that question."

WILLIAM BURTON,

(Preacher at Norwich, about A.D. 1580,)

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CHAPTER XII.

THE "GENERAL MYNDE."—THE "DAWNSE OF SOWLES" AND PRECIOUS "PRYMER."—SCULL OF S. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY.—VARIETY OF BENEFACTIONS.

We have referred to the growing secularity which by this time had generally infected the religious houses in England, and have included our Calendars amongst those who were sometimes induced to barter spiritual privileges for paltry gold; to prostitute holy services and commemorations of the departed for additional bequests to their brotherhood; and to tamper with the feelings of the living and the dying that their own influence and wealth may be increased. This is a serious charge: lightly would we step over the graves of the dead. But we have endeavoured to do justice to their zeal and devotedness,

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we may not shelter them from the blame they justly incurred. What, for instance, could have been a more gross and palpable means of extorting money than the parade they made of reciting on stated occasions the names and gifts of benefactors? It is right that good deeds should be recorded as an example to the selfish, and encouragement to the diffident and reluctant; but no Christian man can approve of theatrical displays in churches, and other adventitious means being adopted in order to lead the unwilling to give from vain and improper motives. It was a goodly custom in the primitive Church to commemorate the faithful departed. Our Christian forefathers "unrolled, year after year, the catalogue of saints, and read aloud their warfare and their victory, thereby to embolden with a holy daring the church militant on earth—to put a new heart into the weary and the wavering;" but

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man's sin and Satan's cunning perverted this holy custom into evil; on this "they built a lying doctrine, and turned the unseen world into a fable, and the commemoration of the saints into a snare;"* and such degeneracy had found its way into the brotherhood of Calendars. Let the reader imagine the Church of Al-hallowen, not then curtailed in its fair proportions of height and length, dressed out with more than usually attractive decorations; the triforium pendent with tapestry, paintings, and light carved work;—let him imagine some eight altars hung about with curtains of elaborate, gilded, and exquisite workmanship; a dazzling display, from every niche, of costly bequests! roodloft, screen, mitred images, ledges, even paintings, every spot indeed to which an ornament could be appended, covered with bequests of the deceased! Let

* Manning.

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him bring before his mind the high altar groaning beneath the weight of crucifix, tabernacle, pixes, &c., *worshipfully endued* with jewels, and every jewel reflecting by innumerable rays the lights from lamps and tapers: the frontal of that altar being cloth of silver, on which was worked in gold the "fygur of ye Trynite," and the "coronacyon of oure Lady;" curtains, embroidered with angels and stars of gold being suspended round about; the other altars at the same time overlaid with coverings of chequered velvet, or inwrought with minutest marquetry;* the former rich with

* The curiously inlaid and richly carved front of the altar which stood in the south aisle of the Church, and called the rood altar, was set with images of S. Anne, S. Mary Magdalene, and other saints "full worshyppfully;" this was enclosed with a door, into the pannels of which were wrought figures of S. Mary and S. John standing at the foot of the Cross; over the whole hung a curtain of tapestry, worked with silver and gold, to be drawn aside on special occasions. This elaborate piece of workmanship was the sole gift of that sincere church-lover, "Dame Alice Chester," and the tapestry, we have reason to believe, was worked by her own fair fingers.

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"orfres" of gold, and powdered with stars," the latter storied with figures and emblems, brilliant with crystal and other precious stones, while from all parts of the roof and unoccupied portions of the pillars and wall drooped banners of "clothe of sylvyr," with figures of "All-halow" raised in gold. Let him present to his mind's view the full company of priests, (vicar, calendars, chauntry priests and clerks,) flanked with deacons and sub-deacons, in their most gorgeous array of consecrated* "amices, chesybles, tunicles, with orfres of ray ffelvett," and "copes of "branched damaske," (all gifts of departed benefactors) grouped in the chancel! Let him

* The vestments, like those of the Jewish priests, were all consecrated or hallowed in a formal manner, the expense thereof was defrayed by the parish:

"Item, for *halowyng* of one peyr vestyments, xiid."

They were also very expensive: a "newe sewte" of vestments cost £2. 7s. 10d., while the "beste sewte" stood them in £4. 13s. 4d., nearly the value of building a house in the principal street in the city.

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imagine everything produced calculated to bewilder and attract, and, that after the feelings of the assembled multitude has received an additional excitement by the elevation of the Host, that one of the priests advances and reads the following commemoration, or, as it was then called, "General Mynde." Let him imagine all this—and he may do it without any perversion of truth—and then say whether we are severe in our remark that even the Calendar brethren were tempted in some sort to yield to the too general habit amongst religious fraternities of tampering with the feelings of the living and the dying. Thus he spake: "Good Christian People! "whereas it hath been a laudable custom, "and of long continuance in use, that on "this* day the names of good doers and

* Usually, at the Church of All Saints, on Ash-Wednesday, the people being then more disposed to set lightly by earthly possessions; the priest signing them on the forehead in the form of the Cross, with this admonition: "Remember thou art dust,

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"well-willers by whom livelihood, tenements,
"buildings, jewels, books, chalices, vestments,
"and other ornaments and goods, as follow,
"have been given unto this church, to the
"honor and worship of Almighty God, and
"increasing of Divine Service, should be
"rehearsed and showed unto you, by name,
"boy, man, and woman, what benefit they
"did for themselves, their friends, and others
"in their life time, and what they left to be
"done after their days that they should not
"be forgotten, but be had in remembrance
"and be prayed for . . . . . .
"and also for *an example to all ye* that are
"now living that *ye may likewise* do for
"yourselves while in this world, that after
"this transitory life ye may be in the number
"of good doers that shall be *rehearsed by*

and shalt return to dust." Sometimes it was on the Sunday before Ash-Wednesday, which was probably the day designated "Relyk Sonday."

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"*name*, and had in the special prayers of "Christian people in time to come: so that "through the perfect mercy of Almighty "God, by the intercession of our Blessed "Lady, and of all the blessed Saints in "whose honour and worship this Church "is dedicate, ye *may on* to the everlasting "bliss and joy that our Blessed Lord hath "redeemed you unto. Amen."

Who can doubt the result of such an address, backed by a powerful appeal to the *external* senses, quickened by exhibited benefactions of departed friends, the dear memory of whom was yet green and vivid in the minds of many present; and to *internal* feelings, created by the natural desire every man entertains and cherishes of not being immediately forgotten when he is dead? Nevertheless, it is well to keep the departed faithful in mind—to think of them, not so much as what they were, but as what they

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now are, waiting the accomplishment of Christ's elect. The result, under the circumstances above mentioned, was just what might have been expected: fear in one, vanity in another, religious awe in a third, and bewilderment in the rest, led to increasing oblations and bequests, which combined to fill the "cofres" of the fraternity. The effect was bad in a moral point of view; for some men in their last moments did not shrink from avowing that their object in leaving testamentary gifts to the church was not only that they should be prayed for, but that they should be expressly *mentioned by name*, when the "General Mynde was rehearsed." Thus we find honest Richard Ake, a parishioner, covenanting to give for the use of the vicar for ever, one antiphonary,* subject to the

* The "Antiphonarium" contained the anthems and responsories which were sung in the course of Divine Service; it is sometimes called the "graduale," because these anthems were occasionally chanted on the steps (gradus) of the Ambon.

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proviso that he "be prayed for among the benefactors;" and even a burgess of London, R. Derkin, the mercer, who had undertaken the distant* journey to Brystowe on important business, being led into All Saints Church, and there dazzled by the parade of commemorating priests, the effect of which influenced him to his death bed, bargains, through the medium of a bequest, to be prayed for *by name*. And the wealthy Henry Chester, with his church-loving wife Alice, thought it not beneath their dignity to have expressly mentioned in their will that certain benefactions were granted on the sole condition that "they be preyd for every ffreday at ye masse by *name*;" and their wish was fulfilled, for not only were they prayed for

* The journey was usually performed on foot; the higher class of travellers proceeded on horseback. A considerable expense was entailed on this church, the year it was thought necessary to commission Thomas ffylor to procure some new vestments. The charge is made for

"hs costys to ryde to london for ye newe sewte."

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every Friday by name, but special notice was also taken of their obit or anniversary. A black cloth of considerable dimensions was suspended in the church, on which were wrought, in large letters of gold, H. C. and A. C.; beneath this ran a scroll with this "scripture of gold:" *Orate pro animabus Henrici Chester, et Aliciæ uxoris ejus;* and the whole was surmounted with a valuable crucifix.

But though we advert to these failings, we speak not of them as peculiar features in the character of our Calendars; or even as being so prominent in them as in most other brotherhoods. On the contrary, they were singularly preserved from the excesses too general in religious houses; but they were not wholly uncontaminated, they caught the almost universal infection of courting benefactions, but not with it the disease of selfish misappropriation. As they grew

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richer they seem to have grown more eminent for their almsgiving. Their increased wealth appears scarcely to have sullied the purity of their life, or to have affected their practice of voluntary personal poverty and unwearied prayerfulness: a rare instance of successful combating with Satan. Well has the Church taught her children to pray in solemn litany three times a week, "in all time of our wealth, Good Lord, deliver us!"

The spirit of subdued pride, of humility in the midst of riches, which was cherished by the cleric and senior lay brothers, speedily extended itself to their inferior officers; these are described as being men of "trewe and sadde dysposycyon"—as those who would "bear no tales by-twene neyghbor "and neyghbor, whereby any occasyon of "stryfe or debate shulde growe yn tyme on." Many of them are represented as "well-wyllyd men yn all their dayes," and as

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"profetabyll unto the Church, specyally when comyn about yn ys pysche" (parish).

Theirs was, notwithstanding, a chequered life, full of vicissitudes; we have mentioned several petty annoyances and some grevious injuries to which from time to time they had been exposed. Their increased importance as the depository of the bequests of departed Christians laid them open to others. This they had not anticipated; they could scarcely believe it possible that what a dying man left in testimony of his regard to the Church, or to obtain her future prayers, would be coveted, much less aliened or stolen from their keeping. But experience taught them a different lesson: not even the fulmination of a spiritual curse* could secure their posses-

* The deed of Roger le Gurdeler, containing the threat of "thundering" a curse against the sacrilege of aliening, selling, or breaking his "coope, cuppe, and spone," is, I believe, still preserved among the All Saints' parchments. The "peyn of cursynge," however, awoke no terrific forebodings in the minds of the agents of Henry VIII.

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sions from peculation. One John Sheppard "wythdrawyd" rent from the Church which had been paid from time immemorial; and when the "General Mynde" was rehearsed, his name was recited, and with it his sacriligious act: but instead of "God haue mcy on hys sowle" the priest exclaimed "God amende hym;" so either from shame or from some better motive, J. Sheppard, the younger, paid all arrears, and restored to the church of the Calendars its rightful property, and obtained its prayers for "ys fadyr ys sowle, ys modyr ys sowle, and ys sowle," i. e. for the souls of his father, mother, and self. But they were not always so fortunate. Among their most valuable property were rare and elaborate books; some of these had been lent under bond, others had been bequests to their house from nobles and rich merchants, while many of them had occupied nearly a lifetime in composition and illumination.

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One in particular they esteemed most highly, and took the utmost precaution and, as they thought, the surest means to secure it. It had been made and presented by William Wittins, who had also given another (somewhat singular) present, as a "memoryall that every man shulde remember hs own dethe,"—on this, he and others, bestowed the title of "Dawnse of Sowles" (the Dance of Souls). But the book to which we are alluding was a "Prymer with VII Psalmys, Letany, Dirige and Comendacyons, Psalmys of ye Passyon, and many other devocyons."

Just within the south door of the church was placed the image, so reverenced by fishermen and the timid dreaders of pestilence, Saint Christopher. There he stood, with his huge brawny figure, sinking beneath the weight of the Holy Child Jesus, as he attempted to bear Him across the brook. Beneath this image was placed (for what

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purpose I am at a loss to conjecture) a grate, and within that they hid their valued treasure. Neither the sanctity of the church, however, nor iron bars, nor the stalwart figure of S. Christopher could deter some daring thief from removing it from its hiding place. No sooner was the theft discovered than most of the brothers were dispatched in various directions, to regain, if possible, what had been lost. Footworne, wearied, and disheartened, many a mile they journeyed on, many an illnatured remark they bore, and many a vain search they instituted. At length the thought occurred to one of the brothers in chapter assembled, that those admiring pilgrims* who had recently visited their church, 'ere they embarked for S. Jago's,

* Among the receipts at this time, is to be found one referring to the offerings made by those who had reached the port of Brystowe, in order to be conveyed by chartered ship to Spain, and had resorted to the Church of Al-hallowen as that in which were to be found the most ancient brotherhood, the most valuable

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had been more enamoured with their relics, jewels, and books, than was altogether consistent with the devotional feelings of men quitting their homes, and abandoning for the most part earthly possessions, and hastening forwards to pay their vows in a distant Spanish church, gaze on one of the most costly shrines in the world, and kneel beside the veritable remains of S. James the Less.

This Calendar's suspicion was quickly communicated to the others, and two volunteered to assay the dangerous enterprize of pursuing them into Spain. The chartered vessel that had conveyed the suspected pilgrims was far off at sea, probably had by this time reached its place of destination. No means of attaining their object were now left to our dauntless pair but trudging on foot by land; occupied

relics, and the most continuous worship. They are entered in the old church book, framed to "recorde al thynges," as "pylgryms goyng to Seynt Jamys."

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on their way with continued repetition of portions of the Psalter, only halting at night-fall at some monastery, to the superior of which they carried commendatory letters from their own prior or the abbot of S. Augustine's; or lingering for a short time at some way-side oratory, that prayer may refresh and help them on their road; and when they reached the sea, taking open boat, fully confident in the power of Him Who bids the waves be calm, and stills

"The wailing sea-bird on the hungry shore."

Many days and nights were spent in perils by water and land, in perils from their own countrymen and strangers, when at length their watching eyes caught the golden hills of Spain; their sails had been flapping with a cruel sluggishness for several hours in the sultry breeze, but scarcely had they doubled Cape Finistere before a brisk gale sprung up, the white foam curled on the waves, the

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canvas swelled to its utmost, and the boat bounded gallantly into port. Few minutes elapsed before the two brothers from Al-hallowen, Brystowe, may have been seen, in rude outlandish garb, plodding on their way towards S. James'.

There was little difficulty now in getting forward: in every village were to be found conveyances, such as they were, for pilgrims and visitors to that noted shrine; and, though the sun had passed the meridian when they landed, ere the stars were high in the bright heavens which curtain Galicia, they reached the splendid city of Compostella—a city, the site of which seems to have been determined, like that of several of our English cities, almost by a spirit of inspiration. Girt about by precipitous rocks, hedged round from noxious winds, and matted by intermingling hills from pestilential blasts, in a well-hollowed romantic valley, rests this nest of churches! wherein

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were hospitals for pilgrims and devotees who came from every part of the world; monasteries, within whose walls watched and prayed learned and devoted servants of Christ; nunneries, wherein, beneath coarse flannel and snowy wimple, burnt the glowing souls of Christian virgins; and above all, the glorious Cathedral, that sacred casket of the hallowed remains of "the brother of our Lord." Gal. 1 c. 19 v. Here our two Calendars entered, knelt, adored. This done, short was their rest that night; before day-break they arose, and when lauds and matins were over, they, like other pilgrims, were permitted to gaze on the blessed bones of the Sainted James, and to inspect the other relics and curiosities preserved in that church. Judge then of their delight, not unmingled with indignation, when amongst them they found their anxiously-sought, highly-valued treasure,—there was their "precious Prymer." They cared not to waste

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their time in rebukes or reproaches; having repossessed themselves of their book, and carefully secured it in their wallet, the port was soon gained, the English cliffs soon seen, and glad of heart and light of step, these wayfarers cheerfully bounded on, hastening homeward, heedless of the length, toil, peril of their journey.

No sooner had they reached the Priory of Al-hallowen than the success of their mission was the subject of joy and gratitude among the whole brotherhood, who by this time had become anxious for their safety: and, with a kind of triumph, they again deposited their "precious prymer" in the grate of Saint Christopher.

But restless and unquiet spirits there were which would not even now let it remain untouched — again it was missing — again sought—but never again brought back. Thus simply is this tale recorded; "ye wyche "stode yn ye Grate undyr Seynt Chrōpher

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"ys ffote; and ye seyd boke was stole and "fownde at Seynt Jamys yn Galeys and "brought home and newe ygrated and sethe "ystole agen." We have stated that the donor of this valuable book had also presented to the church "The Dawnse of Sowles," as a memorial that every man may remember his own death. After so great a length of time it is now impossible to say precisely what this was. It appears to have been either a painting, or a gorgeous piece of tapestry wrought in gold and silver tissue, interwoven with brilliant colours of worsted-work; for several reasons we are inclined to believe it to have been the latter; particularly as a person was regularly paid for bringing it, and when removed *rolling* it up again.* It was sus-

* The reader, who may be curious in such matters, will be pleased with the following extracts from "The Minutes" of payments:—

1450. "Itm for vi stakys to ye dawns of sowlys ..... xx$^{d.}$

1475. "Itm for brengyng of ye dawns of sowlys ..... viii$^{d.}$

"Itm for *hangynge* uppe of ye dawnse of sowlys "twyse a yere, and for *rowlyng* uppe a gayne } viii$^{d.}$

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pended from the ceiling twice a year, and perhaps on some other special occasions. It would be an almost endless task to attempt describing the host of curious relics and benefactions which belonged to these brethren prior to the dissolution of religious houses. Among the former, we may mention that they boasted of being in possession, not only of the candlestick* but of the *scull* of the canonized martyr-prelate, S. Thomas of Canterbury. The two entries in the Church Book referring to the candlestick and scull of Archbishop Becket, who was murdered A. D. 1170, are both crossed out, but manifestly, from the colour of the ink, by a comparatively late pen. The scull would have been considered an invaluable relic—bearing, as it necessarily would, the marks

* The candlestick, which was of brass, was presented to the church by Sir William Selke, who was a brother of the Calendars, and Vicar of All Saints in 1280.

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of those blows and cuts which disimprisoned his saint-like soul. We cannot but be surprised that so small a fraternity as that of the Calendars should have possessed it. We may indeed very reasonably question whether it ever did. The Archbishop was buried in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral; two years later he was canonised; in 1221 his body was disinterred, and removed to a rich shrine at the eastern end of that church, in the presence of King Henry III. and a great concourse of the nobility and others: many miracles were said to have been wrought at his tomb. A clever thief must he have been who under such circumstances could have purloined the skull, or even a part of it. The attribute of S. Thomas of Canterbury, whether in painting, stained glass, or tapestry, is "kneeling, a "man behind with a sword, the middle edge "of which is fixed in Becket's scull:" the original skull itself would be considered beyond all price valuable.

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It is interesting likewise to observe the *variety* of character which the benefactions assumed; being not only according to the taste and means of the several donors, but also in some degree indicative of their feelings. Occasionally we find most costly presents made: one man alone gave silver "pax-bords," a tabernacle of gold, processionals, stalls in the cross aisle, the *whole chapel* of our Lady on the North side of the church, the windows of which were richly decorated with stained glass, taking care at the same time that money should be left to keep it in repair for ever; he likewise endowed a priest to sing (in perpetuum) at our Lady's altar. These and many other benefactions this *rich* man gave. While another, who was a *poor* bookseller, in proportion to the means wherewith he had been blessed, would not be deprived of the privilege of making *his* offering too to God's church, so cheerfully he gave of his little,

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humbly presenting his tabard, or "beste gowne."* One rejoiced in being able to apply the talents intrusted to him in putting new roofs, building a new altar, with a figure of Saint Ursula, placing on it a rich crucifix of silver and gold, "worchepefully endowed" with rubies; while another (a poor artisan) hearing that "gode Byshopp Carpynter" was expected at the priory, worked morning and evening to present him with the utmost his skill and industry could produce, and on the day of his arrival knelt before him, and begged his acceptance of a carefully wrought mitre. Nor was the gentler sex wanting of zeal in this respect: among its number one of the most munificent was the "revered and gracyouse lady, by profession, Dame Maude Spyser," whose benefactions of jewels and purfled vestments were almost innumerable: her death is

* "Rychard myett, boke syllar, gaue hys beste gowne."—*Jhu haue mcy on hys sowle.*" From the "Generall Mynde."

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recorded as having been "a blessyd departing," and during her life she enriched the church with endowments for chantry-priests, with "substantyall chalys," cruets, cressets, thuribula, all of solid silver; besides an "egyll of laten ffor the gospell to be redd uppon," and a "tabull off the transffyguracyon of *Jhu.*" Great pains are taken in the several entries, (and doubtless similar care observed at the recitation of Benefactors' names, or "the General Mynde,") to give her the full title of "Lady," though her husband had been only a grocer in the parish. Another (Alice Chester, to whose zeal we have before referred,) remarking that the *best* cross was used in the Sunday processions, presented the brotherhood with another less costly indeed, yet silver gilt and enamelled, with figures of Saint Mary and Saint John. The old rood loft, too, was a grievous eye-sore to her, for she perceived that it was "sengyll and no thyng bewty," so

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she requested that the unsightly loft may be removed, and at her own cost provided a worshipful one "yfulfyllyd w^t Imagys,"* to supply its place.

We will not detain the reader with a further enumeration of such gifts, but will close this chapter with the observation, that in those ages which we designate "dark," in that period of England's history which we deem superstitious, there was so much that was disinterested and unselfish, there were such a simplicity and devotedness of affection towards the church, that we in vain look for their counterpart in our enlightened and purer

* Having had occasion to refer to the Images used in All Saints, Bristol, it may not be amiss to quote here a portion of a letter written by the late Dr. Arnold, whom no one will suspect of a leaning towards Popery: it is dated June 24, 1840. "Now for Bourges a little more. In the crypt is a Calvary and figures as large as life, representing the burying of our Lord. The woman who showed us the crypt had her little girl with her; and she lifted up the child, about three years old, to kiss the feet of our Lord. Is this idolatry? Nay—verily it may be so, but it need not be, and assuredly is in itself right and natural. I confess I rather envied the child."

Life and Correspondence, by A. P. Stanley, M.A.

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days. Many *now* shrink from devoting the produce of their skill, time, or talents to the service of Holy Church from a fear lest their offerings be not sufficiently costly. We respect the feeling: but do such persons consider that it is not the worldly estimation in which any gift may be held, but the mind of the giver which constitutes its value? How appositely does a quaint old writer remark "The sacred spouse doth wound her Spouse with one of her head haires, of which he makes so great accompt, that he compares them to the flocks of the goates of Galaad; and hath no sooner commended the eyes of his deuote Louer, which are the most noble parts of the face, but presently he fals a praising her head haire, which is the most fraile, vile, and abject. That we might learne thereby, that in a soule taken with holy loue, *actions that seeme very poore* are highly agreeable to the Divine Majestie." Never-

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theless, our gifts must always be in proportion to our means and opportunities: and thus once a King of England thought it not beneath his royal dignity to avow, when taunted for the waste of his liberal donations, "If those treasures have contributed to the "increase and glory of the house of God, "blessed be the Lord that He has inspired "me with the will to grant them; and that "He has bestowed such grace on my reign, "that I am permitted to behold the increasing "prosperity of my holy mother, the Church." A right royal speech, well worthy a Christian King!

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" The reverend pile lay wild and waste,
" Profaned, dishonored, and defaced;
" Through storied lattices no more,
" In softened light, the sunbeams pour,
" Gilding the Gothic sculpture rich
" Of shrine and monument and niche;
" The civil fury of the time
" Made sport of sacrilegious crime."

SCOTT.

" The priests are from their altars thrust;
" Temples are levelled to the dust;
" And solemn rites, and awful forms,
" Founder amid fanatic storms."

WORDSWORTH.

" And there shall come a king and confesse your religions,
" And bete you, as the Bible telleth, for breaking of your rule;
" And amend Moniales, Monkes, and Chanoines;—
" And then shall the Abbot of England and all his issue for ever,
" Have a knocke of a king and incurable shall be the wounde."

PROPHECY IN THE VISION OF PIERCE PLOUGHMAN,
(ABOUT A.D. 1362).

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CHAPTER XIII.

DISSOLUTION OF THE CALENDAR BROTHERHOOD.

THE history of a fraternity is like the biography of an individual: we trace his course from the cradle, through boyhood and manhood, to the grave: so in the former case rise, progress, zenith, decay, dissolution, follow each other in regular, sometimes rapid, succession. No very lengthened period passed ere the storm that had been long gathering, burst forth with terrific violence; the hollow murmurings of distant thunder clouds now broke over the heads of the inmates of religious houses with shattering and deadly effect. "Bluff Harry" had cast

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his adulterous* eyes on Ann Boleyn, and those eyes, least fit of any to espy the faults of others, detected enough (as their possessor thought) in the enormities of Conventual establishments, to procure a sentence for their destruction—*destruction* to monasteries and nunneries, but temporal *enrichment* to himself. In a moment of whimsical peevishness, or checked voluptuousness, or injured pride, or of all three together, the weak and haughty monarch sealed the doom of thousands, and with them that of our Calendars: poor morsels indeed could *they* supply for this royal lion's feast: when all was taken from them they had in this world, save cloke and scrip and contented souls, it carried to the royal bag an annual income of

* "Among the maids of honor, in the suite of the Queen, was Anne Boleyn. . . . . The King was struck with the beauty, youth, and accomplishments of this lady: *after several unsuccessful attempts to triumph over her virtue*, he at length entertained the thought of raising her to the throne."

Hervey's Naval History of Great Britain.

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but £10 18. 8.* Still, like a bird of prey, he stopped not to enquire into the merits of his victims, but incontinently pounced on the quarry. By a single act of Parliament 376 monasteries were dissolved; and by this one fell swoop a yearly revenue of more than £32,000 (an immense sum in those days) was carried to the King's Exchequer. Holy vessels and pious devotions, amounting in value to above £100,000, were appropriated principally to the purposes of a voluptuous Sovereign; and all this paid by the starvation and beggary of some 12,000 Christians. We cannot deny that abuses had crept into the monasteries and other religious houses; but we can scarcely in justice maintain that they merited the stringent measures adopted, the motives for which become the more suspicious as the chief actor therein grows in our estimation less worthy. Wretched and wicked

* So valued at the dissolution, according to Dugdale.

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was it that the same Saint should have been represented in twenty different places at the same time! or that S. Ursula had three heads! Miserable delusion that the teeth of S. Apollonia (an accredited cure for the tooth-ache), should have amounted to more than a bushel! or that the scull of S. Thomas, which probably rested securely in its shrine at Canterbury, should have been pretendedly exhibited on an altar at Al-hallowen, Brystowe! and yet what if these and other equally absurd and wicked impositions were practised on the people, were there no other means of remedy but destroying abbeys and churches wholesale, burning manuscripts and paintings, melting down gold and silver, confiscating lands, and unhousing men and women by thousands? Truly has this king's reign been designated "*the wild misrule of Harry Tudor's son.*"*

* "No age or nation perhaps was ever visited with a more "remorseless tyrant than Henry VIII. Throughout his long

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It is a pleasure, however, to find that our present enquiry does not entail on us the consideration of these questions: all we have to record is, that the Calendar community—brothers and sisters—shared the fate common to other religious bodies, and were compelled to gain their livelihood as they could. They now began to feel the value of their long course of discipline. Homeliness and exposure to cold wrought not deeply on bodies inured to chilling vigils—want and beggary only made a kind of compulsory fasting—they had prepared themselves for all the vicissitudes of a changeful life. Besides these reasons, there were also some which caused this sentence of royalty to fall less severely on them than other religious. They

"and oppressive reign his will supplied the place of law, To "gratify whatever caprice was predominent, torture and death "continually followed in his train. His laws, like those of "Draco, may be said to have been written in blood."

Hervey: Naval History of Great Britain.

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had (as we have already seen) many enemies; one more, though a royal one, could not add much to their hardships: through the malice of man they had been misrepresented and robbed; through the providence of God they had lost their library and their books; yet scarcely had they busied themselves in restoring the injury done by the fire, scarcely were they beginning to meet once more in their common duties, than this the "severest cut of all," drove them from their home, their study, their holy companionship, and their continued prayer by night and by day in Al-hallowen church. Still painful though the trial was, they were in some sort, as we have seen, prepared for it; they had not gone through their long course of religious discipline to no purpose. They well knew that though God's presence was promised to be granted with mysterious nearness, *principally* in the Church, yet that if impious

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men drove them thence, it would be granted any where; and though the sky was their roof, and intermingling branches of the oak or the elm their pillars, the cold clod their chancel, and some unhewn rock their altar, they were quite sure they could still approach as nearly as heretofore the God of their fathers. We will not dwell on their mournful leave-taking, the last long lingering look bestowed on their once happy home, their cheerful refectory, their peaceful dormitory: we will not dwell on the agonizing thought forced on their minds as they saw their hallowed vessels roughly seized and rudely cast into the balance, by hands unholy and profane, their value to be calculated, not by the devotion of the giver, or by the sacredness of the purpose to which they had been assigned, or even by old religious links and associations, but by their weight in ounces Troy! It would be painful for us

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to dwell on the harrowing fact that with rude coarse jeering and a ruffian's jerk the aged friar was hurled from the steps of the high altar, from whence in solemn tone he had denounced the sacriligious act of the intruders into God's sanctuary. We will not attempt to reveal the heavy thoughts which pressed down their souls when they bid farewell for ever to their dear church of Al-hallowen and its many material memorials (so familiarized to their deepest feelings) of living faith and departed worth; we would not bring to light, if we could, those thousand "pangs which deeply agitated their hearts, but never rose to the surface;" those silent sorrows for which they could find no sympathy, those plaints which never gained an earthly audience. The tale of their griefs has never been told, and never will be told till the day when we shall learn the verity of the assertion "there is nothing hid that shall not be known."

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A few words end their tragic story. Sorrow needs no verbosity, it is brief and faltering; joy is eloquent, and loves to linger long in its narrations. A scanty livelihood obtained from casual benevolence, from their labours, and the esteem in which they were generally held, aided by their own habits of voluntary self-denial and patient endurance, provided them with sufficient for their daily needs. Even their dwelling, humbled and straightened as it was, was not left them. The church's rights passed into the hands of royalty, and thus, as was usual in such cases, their habitation, including "bochorde" and all, passed from hand to hand till King Edward the Sixth sold it to Sir Miles Patrick for a paltry sum, and he soon disposed of it to R. Woodward, and Woodward to another, and so on, through a considerable period: the last account we find respecting it is that on the 21st March, 1616, by license under the seals of the Commissary

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of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Dean and Chapter of Bristol, and the Parson of the Parish of All Saints, leave was given to the parishioners of All Saints to open a door in the walls of their church to make a way into a room, still at this late period, called the "Kalends," over the North Aisle, to be used for the purposes of a Vestry Room. Even this miserable record has something refreshing in it, for it clearly implies that altered as the Calendars' library now was from its former character, it had never been entirely alienated from the church; or if confiscated for a time, and misappropriated, was afterwards redeemed by one of the church's true and devoted children. In the most troublesome times there were those who felt their deep obligations to their Holy Mother, and who could not easily be deterred from acknowledging and repaying them as opportunity presented. Nor need we much wonder at finding distinctive traces of

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the deepest, and what would appear to us, romantic, feelings of veneration for All Saints' church. It has, indeed, like other old Bristol churches, been mutilated, robbed, and partly desecrated, but beneath its venerable tower, and mysteriously decorated roof lay, and still lie, the mortal remains of an unusually large number of the most eminent of the citizens, as well as the most holy of the fraternity, and even in cases (such as death in a foreign land) where difficulties occurred in the way of interring the *whole* body of a deceased person, so great was the anxiety felt that the prayers and requiems of the loved brotherhood should be poured forth in his behalf, that even a *portion* of the remains, such as a hand or heart, was carefully brought to be laid in that hallowed ground.

The commissioners employed to strip religious houses of their property did not confine their notice to "rags and bones," as honored

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relics have been sometimes irreverently called; the minutest piece of silver could not escape their hands, not only flagons and chalices, but pyxes and ships,* yea, vestments and altar clothes, were all made to serve their purpose; even memorials of private affection and regard were not held sacred; among the latter may be mentioned a goblet, or Grace-cup, called in an old deed a "Ciphu de Mased," with a silver cover, bequeathed as an especial legacy, and handed down through several generations, from vicar to vicar, and entrusted for safety to the custody of the prior,—why this should have been an object of their rapacious zeal it were difficult to conjecture,—unless we presume that every thing which had a piece of precious metal attached to it was held to be an abomination (to all but the King) and therefore to be purloined. Such things as these are undeserving notice, further than that they tend

* "Naviculæ."

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to show how effectually the commissioners did their work, and that the Calendars were now as poor in body as they had before proved themselves to be "poor in spirit."

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"There abides
In his allotted home a genuine priest,
The shepherd of his flock." WORDSWORTH.

"Thus while the storm is high within
'T'wixt love of Christ and fear of sin,
Who can express the soothing charm,
To feel thy kind upholding arm,
My Mother Church?" CHRISTIAN YEAR.

"Do not permit Thy servants' fall
O Lord my onely Hope, my All,
In th' winter of this mortall day.
But when vntired time shall haste
To render back to earth the waste
Of what I was, be THOU my stay." F. DE S. 1616.

"Recordare, Jesu pie,
Quòd sum causa Tuæ viæ
Ne me perdas illâ die."

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CHAPTER XIV.

LIVING AND DYING IN GOD'S CONSECRATED HOUSE.

Most visitors, when they see the incongruous encroachments made on the church of All Saints, Bristol, by that which was once the Calendars' dwelling, and the corresponding portion of the vicarage house, are induced to think it would have been well had they been entirely destroyed, and better still had they never been built. In an architectural point of view, at least as they now stand, they are most unsightly: they carry, however, many associations of a pleasing and holy character, they are links between the past and present, and they remind us so much of the habits and church-loving lives

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of men of olden time, that, despite all architectural enormities, far better would it seem to be that they should be restored (if possible) to their pristine state, than entirely destroyed. These encroachments, being in a church now small, are conspicuous objects: but are there none such in our cathedrals and large conventual churches? do we never see there a chapter room, or confessional, or abbot's throne (as at Malmsbury) from whence to give the benediction? Is a muniment room, or parvise, or other excrescence, if such it may be called, never found intruding into sacred buildings? and may not such intimate connexion with God's house in the case under consideration have served as some sort of check to the encouragement of sinful, or too secular feelings among the Calendar brethren? And, on the other side, is there not something deeply interesting in the idea of the pastor of a church ever residing within its walls.

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There the holy man of God was ready at hand to join in the services, receive the confessions, or in any way give "ghostly counsel" and spiritual aid to the flock assembled beneath. Just as the believing Shunamite would "make for the holy man "of God a little chamber on the wall, and "set for him there a bed, and a table, and "a stool, and a candlestick, that it should "be that when he came to them he may "turn in thither." (2 Kings, 4 cap. 10 v.)

Or, just as Solomon, in erecting the glorious Temple at Jerusalem "against the wall of "the house built chambers round about." (1 Kings, 6 cap.) So on the wall of the church of Al-hallowen was made for the parson, who was usually a Calendar priest, a "little chamber," that he may dwell within the holy precincts, and by a small spiral staircase descend silently at any moment, day or night, and there pray in secret or join

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with those already engaged in prayer and praise.* Or even when engrossed in his own studies in the legendary room still remaining every thing around him was church-like and Christian. There (in all probability, the veritable handy-work of one of the vicars—Sir Thomas Marshall, 1434) over his mantel, stood emblematic memorials of his Crucified Lord, painted or rather frescoed on tile work, so as to last for centuries, which they have done: † at the same time, through his little window, ‡ which

* The following entry, breathing a kindred spirit, is to be found among the parochial minutes:—Thomas Helwey and Joan his wife (1450), who both lie buried before the Cross Altar (in Alhallowen church), under the great stone, "yjoyned to ye Greese" (i. e. steps).

"In primis they ffownded a Chauntry yn ye seyd Churche in pptuum.

"Item, they gave for ewyr for a *Chambyr* that ye seyd *preste* "dwellyd yn, ye wyche they bylded yn ye *Churche-yorde* on their "own coste ———."

† A portion of this fresco painting, rope-work bordering the sacred monogram, is in the possession of the writer.

‡ The stone-work of this window is still to be seen in the parsonage.

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opened on the worshippers beneath in the church, when prevented from being actually amongst them in person he could yet join in their services, and listen, whether at early dawn or gray evening, in bright noon or awful midnight, to their solemn requiems, their beautiful and soul-subduing hymns. What a pleasing and hallowing idea does this present to the mind! A vicar living literally *within* the walls of his church! identifying, not only his duties, but his daily occupations and even his floating thoughts with the Temple of God! The first gleam his waking imagination would catch; the last shadow that would fall on his sleepful senses would be derived from the church's services. Eli, and Samuel, Anna, and the Blessed Virgin enjoyed this, and doubtless hundreds more whose names will never be recorded in this world.*

* Du Cange speaks of women sitting and sleeping in the upper porticus of churches for the sake of devotion.

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And then, to think of those moments when affliction lies most heavily on one, when we are suffering God's "terrors with a troubled mind," how softening, yet withal cheering, would be such close notice of the "beauty of holiness," such actual vicinity to the place where God's "honor dwelleth." And then, when one may be laid on a sick bed, and especially when the angel of death is hovering near, who could select a scene wherein to receive the "ultimum viaticum" more suitable than that where God by the hand of His Ministry was giving the "daily bread" which "came down from heaven" to penitent communicants? who could choose a place wherein to die more desirable than that in whose hallowed earth, when Death had done his deed, his dust would rest till the number of the elect was accomplished. To die under the roof of God's consecrated house, for a Christian's last hour on earth to be spent

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literally in the services of the church "militant" 'ere his spirit passed to wait beneath the altar,* preparatory to joining in the services of the one same church "triumphant;" for his last earthly breath to intermingle with the breathings of praise from brethren, destined still to linger awhile without the veil, would seem to be the ultimatum of a Christian pastor's wish as to the place and mode of his departure. Such a repose would be most welcome to the weary worne-out frame: the peace of such a holy spot would be most grateful to the believer's passing soul: it would be the nearest possible assimilation of things and habits present, to things and habits yet to come. To die thus within the church's precincts would be like fulfilling in one's own end the Psalmist's saying, "Thou shalt hide me in Thy *tabernacle*."

This idea has been beautifully illustrated in

* Rev. vi. c. 9, 10, 11 v. v.

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a little tale, fraught with the deepest piety, entitled "Ivo and Verena."* The Christian hero of the tale had received a mortal wound: his friends bore him on a bier of fir trees, and while they were yet doubting where to carry him, and were looking on each other in silent distress, the dying man opened his eyes, and pointing to the church, made signs to be carried thither. "When Ivo found himself in that sacred building, and the bier on which he lay was placed upon its floor, a look of peace spread over his countenance. He lay still and silent, crossing his hands on his bosom, only his lips moved, as if to repeat a prayer. All around him were motionless, watching him in silence, and not pressing round him lest they should disturb his repose . . . . . speaking with difficulty he said, 'Ask Olave to read the prayers for the dying.' Whilst the prayers were read he listened with fixed atten-

* Published by Burns, London.

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tion, his upraised eyes directed towards the roof of the church, his hands crossed as before." And there where he had first planted a temple to God's honor, where a Christian altar had been reared, from the very place where his happiest holiest hours had been spent, and all his ministrations as a priest of Christ had been fulfilled, his soul returned to the God who gave it.

But to revert to the subject of our "encroachments." It need not excite wonder that the parson of Al-hallowen should, from his library or oratory, have a window that opened on the interior of the sacred building; for who so fit a guardian of the sacred vessels and other numerous oblations and valued relics which lay on the several shrines of the church entrusted to his care, as its own spiritual pastor? This is the only example of the existence of a priest's window in a *Parsonage* known to the writer. The room called Chat-

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terton's at S. Mary's, Redcliffe, has a window which looks across the lower part of the church,—but this could not command a view of any of the altars, only the extreme West of the aisles,—and was most probably built for the residence of some chantry priest, who, unlike his wretched successor in that room, would never have ventured on the sin of suicide. There are similar* parvises or abodes for chantry priests at Almondsbury, Portbury, and in many other large churches, but they are of very different intention and character from that at All Saints. As this does not look merely across the nethermost parts of the aisles, but commanding an Eastward view,

* Collinson says (Vol. 3. p. 158.) that it was often usual from such openings for an acolyte to address the people on their entering into the church, to prepare their minds for the ensuing solemnities, it were scarcely likely that the window in All Saints' Parsonage was used for this purpose, as the Vicar was usually chosen from the elder brethren of the Calendars,—and therefore was not merely an acolyte, but a veteran priest,—moreover, it was not near the principal entrance, nor could it command a view of the people who thronged in through the Western porch.

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must have enabled the priest to keep a watchful eye on the relics, and, which was once considered a powerful aid to religious feeling, furnished him, or others, (by permission) with a perpetual hagioscope* for the great festivals, or whenever else high mass was celebrated.

The following narrative will serve to show the use for which (in part) such a window may have been employed. Sauntering through the streets of a town in Italy, an English gentleman paused at the open gates of a church; and seeing several persons passing, in ingress and egress, through its portals (a sight by no means rare all day long), he fell in with a group consisting partly of worshippers, partly of idlers, and entered with them. Lingering about the aisles they at length stopped before one of the shrines, which was most gorgeously decorated with curious relics: here some of the party knelt, apparently in sincere devotion,

* Called also, an "acroscope," "lychnoscop," and "squint."

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whilst others among them stared with mingled curiosity, irreverence, and astonishment. After a short delay, one of the latter stretched his hand forward to touch, what was supposed to be, a shoe of the Blessed Virgin, when a voice was suddenly heard forbidding such unholy touch, and commanding him to abstain instantly from his sacrilegious purpose. The eyes of all were turned to the point whence the voice appeared to issue, and after a short interval, a little window was discovered, from which peered the face of an aged monk, or priest, who had caused the startling interruption.

May not the window in the Parsonage of Al-hallowen have been intended and used, among other purposes, as a station for the priest whence he might observe the conduct of persons frequenting the open church?

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Among the Saints of Christendom are men of *toil and trade, the craftsman, and the merchant.* ARCHDEACON MANNING.

"What, shall I not pray at the church? Yes, by all means."
THEOPHYLACT.

"We have a morning exercise . . . . . yet as soon shall "we get a hare with a tabor, as persuade some to come to this "heavenly and religious exercise." W. BURTON, 1589.

"Omnes sacerdotes, horis competentibus diei et noctis, suarum "sonent ecclesiarum signa: et sacra tunc Deo celebrent officia."
SPELMAN.

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CHAPTER XV.

THE EXAMPLE OF OBSERVING DAILY PRAYER IN THE CHURCH SET BY EMINENT BRISTOL MERCHANTS.

WHILE enquiring into the customs and manners of the times to which principally the foregoing chapters refer, we have been struck with several which form a remarkable contrast with the habits of our own days. A Bristol merchant or "Counseile Man" of the 14th or 15th century (not to refer to an earlier period), pursuing his avocations with the same perseverance and integrity which for the most part characterize a Bristol merchant of the 19th century, adopted habits which the latter would consider, if not decidedly opposed to his attaining to worldly

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honors and eminence, yet at least unnecessary. No one can search into the records of our former magistrates, merchants, and tradesmen, without observing what a staple commodity, so to speak, was, in their view, religious observances: they felt that their conveniences were to give way to the church and not the church wait upon them: they thought, perhaps superstitiously, (but was it an *impious* superstition?) that none could have God for his Father, who would not have holy church for his mother. Of course we mean this remark to be understood as applicable to them *generally;* the act of injustice, mentioned at page 155 and seq, and the act of inhumanity to which we shall shortly refer, occurring, it may be, once in a century, cannot fairly be considered as affecting their *general* character. Daily church-going—family prayers—private devotions—penitential discipline,—voluntary offerings, together with

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suspension of business on the fasts and festivals, no more interrupted their eminence as merchants, or marred the profits of their trade than kneeling, as George Herbert says, "e'er hurt silk stocking." This is indeed taking very low grounds for enforcing the observance of frequent public duties, but we are content for the present to rest our argument upon it. The members of the Council, in particular, set, as those in such position ought to do, a good example to their fellow-citizens in this respect; nor were the humbler classes at all indisposed to follow it: they heard sermons as the means but not as an *essential* part of God's worship, while on the other hand they frequented holy prayer in the church as an essential part of God's outward worship; and Bristol stood then quite as high in the nation as it does now; and its inhabitants were, in proportion, quite as wealthy, as respected, and as peaceable as

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at present: a substantial proof this, that "Godliness has the promise of the life that now is," as well as of that "which is to come,"—that they who "seek first the kingdom of heaven shall have all other (necessary) things added unto them." Adopting the language of the motto which stands at the head of this chapter, we say, "Among the Saints of Christendom are men of *toil and trade—the craftsman and the merchant.*" We may employ the words of the same eloquent and pious writer and assert that "in all ranks and *all degrees* of the *civil state* men mortified in soul have lived unto Christ—none so fulfilled the offices and tasks of life as they, because they were above them all; they descended to them and discharged them with an ease and grace which nothing but an absolute forgetting of self can give. None so wise, so courteous, so beloved as they. None richer or more prosperous. None more faith-

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ful in their stewardship of this world's wealth." They appear to have *acted out*, what we acknowledge in theory, the necessity of that fervent advice, "*pray, pray, and never cease to pray; for, if you continue to pray, your salvation is secure; if you give up prayer your perdition is inevitable.*" The sanctifying their daily occupations with daily prayer in the church prevented not their success as merchants. They found (as all, who sincerely try, will find,) that seeking first what was God's, *He* took care for what was their own. Such a habit softened the mind, and cemented the citizens in affection one with another; it maintained peace and love, and taught the rich to use their talents for God's glory, and in the time of health, not less than in the hour of death, to remember his church and his poor. We refer to our Canynges, Darby, Frampton, Shipward, &c., &c.; and in later times, to our Whitson and Colston in proof of this. If

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then the *daily* observance of public religious duties neither retarded the eminence, nor marred the pleasures of these men (we take the negative view of the question, though we may easily prove that it increased and strengthened both), why, we ask, should it be habitually neglected now? And this duty is binding on true *Protestants* especially. The Prayer Book, framed and compiled by our Reformers, asserts or implies *daily* prayer in its rules "concerning the service of the church," "the order how the Psalter is appointed to be read," "the order how the rest of Holy Scripture is appointed to be read," in its *Title*, —twice in the Te Deum—in the rubrics before the "Collects for peace and grace" in the Morning Service, and those corresponding in the Evening—in the rubric before the Collect for 1st Sunday in Advent—that for Ashwednesday—and "the form of prayer to be used at Sea," and in other places—we say it

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is especially binding on all true *Protestants*, because, as Dr. Nicholls, on the Act of Uniformity, says, "Our Reformers would not have *daily* service neglected by Ministers of the church: but that they should be as diligent in using the English Liturgy, as the Papists were the Latin." We would venture then humbly to appeal to the members of our civic corporation, and enquire why, as Christian rulers, they do not in this respect follow the example of their forefathers in office? not only prior, but long subsequent to the Reformation such practice was general—the neglect of it is quite an innovation.* Let some of those Town Council-men, whose lives in other respects stand above suspicion, only take the lead (if not for their own, at least for their childrens' sake), in an endeavour to restore

* That the closing of churches on week-days is an *innovation* is sufficiently proved by a list of the hours (see appendix) at which *less than a century* ago the churches in London were opened for *daily* service.

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the goodly custom of attending *daily public prayer* as a Christian body invested with awful responsibilities, and others will soon follow their example. And the rich particularly have need to pray much in the church, let them only think how "appalling are the denunciations against wealth in Scripture—what a moral effeminacy it generates—what an inaptitude for struggling against evil tongues from without, and evil lusts from within" springs from it—what a host of responsibilities, that will never rest on the souls of hundreds around them, accrue from it,—let them only reflect on these things, or any one of them, seriously, and then would they thankfully flock to their parish churches, that *day by day* they may magnify God;* earnestly would they there supplicate *each day* that He would vouchsafe to keep them from sin, and teach them to dole out aright to the sick and the

* "Te Deum."

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hungry, the fatherless and the widow, the talents they hold in trust. And where can such blessings be so freely and so fully obtained as in the church?

"Though private prayer be a brave design,
"Yet public hath *more* promises, *more* love:
"And love's a weight to hearts; to eyes a sign.
"We all are but cold suitors; let us move
"Where it is warmest. Leave thy six and seven;
"Pray with the most; for, where most pray, is heaven."*

"This holy service," says Bishop Sparrow,† "offered up to God by the priest in the name of the church, is far *more* acceptable to Almighty God than the devotion of any private man . . . . . Private devotions and services of particular men, which are offered by themselves for themselves, are sometimes accepted, sometimes refused by God, according as the persons are affected to vice or virtue, but this public worship is like that lamb commanded to be offered by the priest for others, for the

* George Herbert. † Rationale on the Common Prayer.

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church, and therefore accepted, whatsoever the priest be that offers it up. . . . . Good reason, therefore, it is that this sweet smelling savour should be *daily* offered up to God." "I forbid you not" say the Homily, "private prayer, but I exhort you to esteem common prayer as it is worthy. By the histories of the Bible it appeareth that *public and common prayer is most available* before God." "The good which we do by public prayer," says Hooker "is *more* than by private can be done." The Lord's Prayer, which we are always to say when we pray, was drawn up for a *multitude,* was first rehearsed to a *multitude,* and first used by a *multitude* of people met together. Hence S. Cyprian says it is "a public and common prayer."* S. Augustine declares that we prevail *more* by common, than by private supplications,—"to think," adds he "that prayers at home

* Publica est et communis oratio.—(De Orat. Domin.)

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will be as acceptable to God as those made at church is as if one fancied that the incense of the Temple, which is a compound of several precious balms, emitted no other perfumes or savour than the spices would have done had they been burned singly, one by one." Grotius on Matthew 18 c. 19 v. remarks "Though God sometimes grants to one man's prayers that which he asks, yet to many who unanimously join in the same petition he gives both *more willingly, more largely, and more speedily.*"

"The Christian sacrifice," observes Robert Nelson, who was probably an intimate friend of our Colston,* "should be offered morning

* He was on close terms of friendship with many eminent *Bristol* merchants; he married a daughter of the Earl Berkeley, the deserved boast of whose house was its humble devotedness to the church, of which *Bristol* then received many marks; the epitaph on his tomb was composed by Dr. Smalridge, Bishop of *Bristol*. This same R. Nelson in his life of Dr. George Bull, Bishop of S. David's, refers more than once to the value and necessity of *daily public prayer*, and he relates as one of the most truly episcopal and Christian acts of the Prelate whose

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and evening in *public* assemblies; they that have such opportunities, and are not lawfully hindered, should endeavour so to regulate their time as to be able constantly to attend such a great advantage to the Christian life."

"Even prayer itself," says S. Basil, "when it hath not the *consort of many voices*, to strengthen it, is not itself."* And to quote Hooker once more, "*Secret* neglect of our duty in this kind (prayer) is but only our *own* hurt. One man's contempt of the Common Prayer of the Church of God may be, and oftentimes is, most hurtful unto many." Time may change the external character of

life he was writing, that "when he came to live at Brecknock "they had public prayers at that place *only* on Wednesdays "and Fridays, but by his care during his stay there, they have "prayers now *every morning and evening in the week.*"

"And whereas at Carmarthen they had *only morning* prayers "upon week days when his Lordship first came to that town, "he set up also *constant evening prayers.*"

* *αὐτὴ ἡ προσευχὴ μὴ ἔχουσα τοὺς συμφωνοῦντας ἀνανδρεστέρα πολλῷ ἐαυτῆς.—Epist.* 68.

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places, and modes of pursuing business, and such like, but it cannot alter religion—this must remain as important in one generation as another. A merchant of the 19th century needs the blessing of God and the comforts of religious services fully as much as one who lived in the 14th or 18th; while the force of his example is so much the more powerful for good or for evil, as the occasion which calls it into existence is the more urgent, or the scope for the exercise of its influence wider. We are fully aware that several objections have been raised to the practice of attending daily service in the church; among them is one which at first sight seems to rest on good grounds, namely, that its tendency is to displace family prayer: we think its tendency leans in just the opposite direction. Archdeacon Manning powerfully grapples with, and overcomes this objection. He says, "Very little can

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they know of the history of the faithful who in all ages of the Church have most steadfastly waited on God in His *daily* worship, if they imagine that their *households* were without God in the world. The private lives of all great saints show that none so consecrated their *homes* as they did. In the great examples of the English Church in modern days we have direct evidence of this. . . . . There is something almost hard-hearted in the narrow-minded, short-sighted way in which people use this objection, as if the few thousand households of the richer, or more leisurely, or more educated, or more religious, were all the Church had to care and to provide, and to think and to act for." "*Daily private prayer*," says another, "led to *daily family prayer*, and daily family prayer is leading to *daily public prayer* in the sanctuary of God. Many an Elijah has been repairing the altar of

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God that was broken down, and the *daily* sacrifice is again being offered up," so that family prayer is no substitute for the public worship in the Temple, nor should public worship in the Temple supersede family prayer. Again it is said so few attend it—sad that it should be so, but this does not remove its obligation, or its privilege; for "there is no restraint to the Lord to save by many or by few." (1 Sam. 14 c. 6 v.) But why should any be defrauded of a blessing because others deprive themselves of it? "Why should Simeon and Anna be thrust back from the gate that is called beautiful because others see no comeliness in it that they should desire it? Oh, surely it is the weakness of the wisdom of this world that would value a privilege by the *numbers* that embrace it: then might the very religion of Jesus be despised, because at first it was

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rejected and the holy Author of it persecuted and slain."

Among our civic rulers, for we appeal to them as the lay exemplars of their fellow-citizens, are men who justly rank high in their several professions; second to none in the deep sense they entertain of what they owe to their office; actuated by feelings of honor, perseverance, and benevolence; even, for the greatest part, sensible of the importance of religion generally, and the benefit of occasional public acts of Christian worship, then why should they not, as Bristol Corporations were used to do in times not long gone by, meet as a body, at some church (say S. Mark's) every morning before they enter upon their duties of the day, and again kneel there when the hours of worldly business are over, unless indeed they prefer (which would be better) sharing this privi-

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lege with their families, in their respective parish churches? If such were their daily habit, would their fellow-citizens think less highly of them? Would trade be less faithfully attended to? Would not their example influence others for good? and above all, would they not experience the truth of that infallible saying "the blessing of the Lord, it maketh rich, and He addeth no sorrow with it." They could have too their occasions, such as when any matter of more public interest or of greater importance is to be deliberated and decided; or as oft as any ecclesiastical or other national holiday occur, when as heretofore with decent pomp and goodly show (apart withal from sinful pride) a civic procession may be formed to the venerable pile of our Cathedral, or to S. Mary's at Redcliffe, or any other church, and the solemn duties over, they may (if all agree) adjourn, as their predecessors did,

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to "the Maire is house," and there partake of "spiced cake-brede and wyne," taking care, however, to return to their families in time to accompany them to their "own parish church for evensong." They boast, as they very justly may, that through God's blessing, the errors of Popish domination are in England trampled under foot, and true religion is, or may be, enjoyed in all its purity; yet how slow are some to show that they value their privileges, and rejoice in the purity of their creed. Six-sevenths of his life many an Englishman now spends apart from his church—six days out of seven he knows nothing of public confession, public hearing of God's word, public prayer; while his continental neighbours, deemed to be erroneous in creed and pitifully ignorant, will, as I have read, assemble (in the manufacturing towns) hundreds upon hundreds, in their working-dress at Mass

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at 5 o'clock in the morning before going into the factories, and join heartily in the service. The Englishman runs after the popular preacher, and so does the continentalist, but with this difference, that generally with the former all ends with the sermon, while the latter observes also Mass and prayer in the church, he admires the eloquent preacher, but he loves also to join heart and soul at "the great sacrifice in communion with the faithful living and dead." We fearlessly declare that the English Church is the purest branch of the Church throughout the world, but alas! her children will not obey her. She is to most of them an ideal of theory, not a thing of practice. Many recoil at the very mention of daily public prayer morning and evening as though it were a venomous serpent, something to draw them away from religion. *They are superstitiously irreligious; yet doubtless the Truth*

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which dwells in the English Church merits more devotion than the Error of Rome.

Now perhaps it may be thought from what has been said that formerly Bristol merchants were surly, priest-ridden, weak-minded men, without the proper independence and cheerful frank-heartedness of the present generation. We could not do them a greater injustice than to form such an opinion; serious in prayer, grave in office, and steady in business, it would be a hard matter to find now a merrier or happier race of men than they were. The meads, and gardens, and ambulatories contiguous to the city wall, and the open plains beyond, witnessed the sports, on many a *holy-day's** sunny evening, of the magis-

* "They reproach the Catholic religion with the number of its holy-days, never considering how the want of holy-days breaks down and brutalises the labouring class, and that where they occur seldom they are uniformly abused. Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide—the only seasons of festival in England, are always devoted by the artificers and the peasantry to riot and intoxication."

ESPRIELLA'S LETTERS.

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trate and the serfe, the master's son and the apprentice; on many a *festival's* afternoon, were Marchall (now misnamed Merchant) Street and Ryding-feld crowded with merry stalwart citizens, challenging each other, in thorough home-spun good nature, for joust and tournament; and though their feats were clumsy, and caused the fields around to ring again with many a hearty laugh from the by-standers, good humour was the presiding deity, and health and honest cheerfulness followed in its train: many and many a year after the King's soldiers were withdrawn from the castle would the young, the middle-aged, and the old, meet on "Mons acutus" (hence Montague), Kingsdown, and join in the "spere play," a game in which they took so much interest that the expense of it was borne by a general contribution of the inhabitants: wrestling and leaping, archery and tilting, and sometimes fowling and ducking, supplied them

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with amusement; in the last named art we read the Bristol magistrates once prided themselves on their great proficiency; in the year 1240 (but that is a long while ago, we believe we are more humane now) they gained considerable eclât for their skill in this pursuit—no enviable notoriety certainly, for the poor duck and the *ducked* owl on her back were worried out of their lives for the magistrates' sport. Yet why should not a similar spirit of frankheartedness, distinct no less from pride than cruelty, pervade our rich and poor now, why should they not all throng (particularly on the festivals and other national holidays) into those glorious buildings which the piety of our ancestors raised for them, to bear their part of prayer and thanksgiving; and then on the common outside the walls, or in the squares within, join in lawful recreation, where the lusty apprentice would not fear to outleap his master's son, nor the pauper's child of

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want to contend with the guardian's brother, while the alms of the faithful that were collected at the offertory in the morning may be making the widows' and the orphans' hearts to sing with joy? And in the beautiful villages which fringe our city, why should not on each returning festival the old parish church send out of its time-honoured portals the old men and women, the lads and lasses, to the merry green, where youth may disport itself, and old age, well pleased, look on? Alas! selfishness has well-nigh banished all such unproductive amusements, and with them, we fear, good humour and loyalty, from our cities and villages. It is true we have amusements "for the public" without number, but alas! what clumsy "unblessed and unblessing" substitutes are they for the festivals of holy church.*

We conceive that there is no proof needed

* See Lord John Manners on National Holidays.

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to show that a magistrate, merchant, tradesman, apprentice, and every other Christian man and woman, high or low, may daily assemble for public worship, and observe all the Church's fasts and festivals, and yet not only lose nothing, but gain much, in happiness, dignity, honest success and cheerfulness. We desire to press this consideration, though at the risk of being charged with presumptuous interference, very strongly on the notice of those whose example may influence others, particularly, as we have said, on those placed in civic authority; they are the trustees of many church alms, the bestowers of some church appointments, the representatives of excellent churchmen, we trust that the time is not far distant when, as a Corporation, they will daily observe all the public ordinances of the church; and we shall again find rich Bristol merchants (as single agents, not as one guinea subscribers) building and endowing churches,

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schools, or alms-houses out of that abundance wherewith God has blessed them. That we shall again find them, like the good Thomas Holwey (aided by their virtuous wives, as he was by his thrifty Joan), making it a point of duty to dispense rightly the rich treasures entrusted by Providence to their care, visiting from church to church, and with amenity and tenderness pointing out defects, with encouragement leading to their reparation, and with ungrudged bounty aiding the work. Thomas and Joan coveted not to have their names handed down to us, but they have reached us; and with this remark they stand recorded in an old manuscript, in an obscure list of good doers;

"Item. mor ouyr moste well-wyllyd to all good "werkys of ye churche to ouyr see ye reparacyons of "ye churche. 4 tymes a yer goyng yn hs cheyre." *i. e.* coach.

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"Well may masters consider how easie a transposition it had "been for God, to have made him to mount into the saddle that "holds the stirrup; and him to sit down at the table who stands "by with a trencher."

FULLER'S HOLY STATE.

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CHAPTER XVI.

THE CONCLUSION.

MASTER AND SERVANT.

ANOTHER thought which has forcibly occurred to us in the course of these enquiries, but one which we must very briefly notice, is, how differently masters appear to have regarded their servants and apprentices formerly from what they do now! What kindness on one side, what fidelity on the other! They moved and lived together as members of the same family, yet without blending the necessary distinction (necessary because God Himself ordained it) which exists between them. Rarely do we now hear of instances of any continuing in the same servitude a whole life: the common average scarcely

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exceeds a few years; yet seldom has it fallen to our lot to decipher an ancient will, without finding kind mention of old domestics and faithful apprentices; and reminiscences, in a substantial shape, of continued fidelity. We will give two instances: Canynge, though immured in a cloister, though he had withdrawn himself from the world, shut not up his recollection of past services. He would not permit even the glorious work of building such a church as S. Mary's, at Redcliffe, to absorb his means of marking his grateful memory of his old servants: Wurley and Wadning, Hickes and Trewel,* with others, had reason to remember the good Dean of Westbury, whose religion had taught him that "the rich and poor meet together; the Lord is the Maker of them all." But Canynge was a greatly good man,

* These and others are mentioned by name as legatees in Canynge's will.

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a man endued with *extraordinary* zeal, devotion, and Christian love—few can keep pace with his gigantic step; we will refer then to one belonging to the class of *ordinary* citizens, and show that Canynge's regard for old faithful servants was by no means singular, or peculiar to himself. One John Bromdon, an honest burgess of the town of Bristol, signed, on Palm Sunday, 1375, his last Will and Testament, in which, among others, we find the following specific legacies:—I bequeath to my *servant*, Arnald, a shop, with all its appurtenances, situate, &c. Item, I give to John Colton, my *servant*, ——;* Item, to John Perinn, my *valet*, ——; Item, to my *servant*, John Cooke, ——; Item, to my *servant*, John Bampton, ——; Item, to my *servant*, Margaret Goodhynde, —— ; Item, I give to my *late servant*, Alice Weston,—— ; Item, I give to my *servant*, Agnes ——.

* We omit the description and amount of the several legacies.

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What we would infer from such bequests as these, which appear to have been general during the course of many centuries, differing only in amount in proportion to the comparative wealth of the testator, is, that there was more kindness on the one side, and more humble fidelity on the other, than we now usually find subsisting between like parties; they were not in the habit of regarding each other respectively as tyrant and slave; more sympathy and mercy prevailed here, and more cheerful obedience there: and to what may we reasonably attribute this change of feeling and conduct? Surely amongst other inferior causes to our present dividedness on religious subjects, our disregard of the laws of the Church, our love of controversial pietism, and the deadness of personal religion on both sides. Let the unity of faith, sought in, and cemented by, the teaching and discipline of *the One Holy*

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Catholic Church bind them both, bind us all, whatever our rank, whatever our relative obligations, and the bond will prove *indissoluble.*

Of Lady Falkland it is narrated that "She punctually observed the Holy Days of the Church, and after the public service she released her servants to their recreations and the care of their own concerns, saying, '*These days are yours, and as due to you as ordinary days to my employments.*' On these days of *rest* she went with her books to her unlearned neighbours, who were at leisure to hear her read, whilst their *plough and their wheel stood still.* She strictly observed likewise the fasts of the Church."*

And how much happier and more united we all should be, if we would but endeavour to observe the rules laid down by Mr. Mede, "never to talk of religion but when we think

* Churchwomen of the seventeenth century.

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seriously of it—not to betray the want of it by one's discourse of it, which should be decent, grave, sober, prudent—that our discourse of religion be practical rather than notional, or disputing; that it be devout, edifying after an hearty and affectionate manner."

"That we join a good life to our religious discourses: and never contradict our tongue by our deeds."

We have to apologize to our readers for the introduction of matters which are somewhat irrelevant to our main subject—indeed throughout we have little studied to gratify a morbid taste for novelty, or the love of excitement; neither have we thought of catering to a romantic fancy respecting monastic life, scarcely even to maintain an uniform account of any given period in our city's history. Some circumstances, however, have incidentally presented themselves to our notice, which we

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thought too important to be entirely omitted. Altogether we trust that this effort to redeem from increasing obscurity a few interesting facts in our local history, will help, as subordinate means, to regenerate among us good catholic feelings and usages, and lead us to set a just value on our venerable city, and to imitate (improving where we can) the customs of our Christian forefathers.

"Gloria in excelsis Deo."

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APPENDIX.

THE "List" referred to in page 245 n., and which is added to "A Discourse concerning the duty and importance of "Daily Public Prayer, by the Rev. J. Pearsall, A.M. "MDCCLI." *(Not a century ago.)*

A

LIST

OF THE

DAILY SERVICE,

AS IT IS PERFORMED IN LONDON, IN THE SEVERAL CHURCHES THROUGHOUT THE BILLS OF MORTALITY.

IN AN ALPHABETICAL ORDER.

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	MORNING.	EVENING.
Al-hallow's, Barkin*	9 o'Clock	7 o'Clock.
————, Staining.....	11 „	4 „
St. Andrew, Holborn, with its Chapel	11 „	3 „
St. John's, Bedford Row..	11 „	4 „
St. Andrew Undershaft, Leaden-Hall Street ..	6 in Summer 7 in Winter.	6 „
St. Ann, Soho, Westminster	6 in Summer and 11 7 in Winter.	4 and 6, except Saturdays.
St. Antholin's, Watling Street	6 in Summer, 7 in Winter, Wed., Friday, & Holidays, 11.	
St. Botolph, without Aldersgate	11 o'Clock	3 „
St. Botolph, without Aldgate	.....	7, except Saturdays
St. Bride's, Fleet Street...	11 „	7 „
Charter House Chapel ...	11 „ ...	4 in Summer 3 in Winter.
Christ Church, Newgate..	11 „ ...	5 in Summer 3 in Winter.
St. Christopher, near the Bank	6 „	6 „

* At this Church the Holy Communion was administered every Sunday.

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	MORNING.	EVENING.
St. Clement Dane, Temple Bar	11 o'Clock	3 & 7 o'Clock.
St. Dionis Back Church, Lime Street	8 in Summer 9 in Winter.	5 „
St. Dunstan,* Stepney ...	11 o'Clock ...	6 in Summer. 3 in Winter.
St. Edmund, the King ...	.....	7 in Winter.
St. George, Bloomsbury...	11 „	4 „
———, Hanover Sqr.	11 „	5 „
Conduit Street Chapel ...	11 „	4 „
Audley Street Chapel, Grosvenor Square ...	11 „	
St. George, Martyr, Queen Square.....	11 „	4 „
St. Giles, Cripple Gate ...	11 „	7 „
———-, in the fields ...	10 „	4 „
Great Queen Street Chapel, Lincoln's Inn fields	11 „	
Gray's Inn Chapel.....	11 „ ...	5 in Summer. 3 in Winter.
St. James,† Clerkenwell ..	11 „	

* At St. Dunstan's in the West, besides the morning and evening prayer, the Communion was administered *every* Holiday at 7 in the morning,

† St. James's Chapel, 6 and 11 A.M., 5 P.M., and Holy Communion every Sunday.

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	MORNING.		EVENING.
St. James, Westminster..	6 in Summer and 11½ / 7 in Winter.		3 & 6 o'Clock.
King Street Chapel, ditto.	11	„	6 „
Berwick Street Chapel, Westminster	11	„	5 „
St. John, Wapping	11	„	8 „
St. Catherine by the Tower	11	„	
*St. Lawrence, Jewry	11	„	7 „
St. Leonard, Shoreditch	11	„	
Ask's Chapel, Hoxton	11	„	5 in Summer / 3 in Winter.
Lincoln's Inn Chapel	11	„	5 „
St. Margaret's, Westmins.			6 „
Duke Street Chapel, ditto.	11	„	4 „
Queen Sqr. Chapel, do.	11 from Midsummer to Michaelmas.		
Chapel in the Broadway, Westminster	9	„	3½ „
†St. Martin in the Fields	6 in Summer / 7 in Winter.		6 „

* The Holy Communion on every Sunday except the first in the month, at 6 A.M.

† The Holy Communion on every Sunday except the second in the month, at 6 o'Clock A.M.

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	MORNING.	EVENING.
St. Martin, Ludgate	11 o'Clock.....	6 o'Clock.
St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside.....	8 „	5 „
St. Mary Woolnorth, Lombard Street	10 „ ...	4 in Summer 3 in Winter.
St. Michael, Crooked Lane	.....	8 „
————, Queen Hithe.	.....	6 „
————, Bassishaw ...	.....	6 in Winter.
Oxford Chapel, St. Mary-le-Bone	11 „	5 „
St. Paul's Cathedral* ...	6 in Summer 7 in Winter and ½ before 10.	¼ after 3.
St. Paul's, Covent Garden	6 and 10 ...	3 & 6 „
†St. Peter's, Cornhill.....	11 „	4 „
‡St. Peter's, Westmins.	6 in Summer and 10 7 in Winter.	3 „

* Sermons on the Saints' days.

† The Holy Communion every Sunday, and also a Sermon every Holiday.

‡ A Sermon every Holiday.

The above notes are taken from "Rules for our more devout behaviour," &c., first published in 1686. The eleventh edition (from which these notes are extracted) appeared in 1709.

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	MORNING.	EVENING.
St. Sepulchre's, Newgate.	6 o'Clock.....	3½ o'Clock.
St. Stephen, Coleman St.	11 „	
Somerset House Chapel...	11 „	4 „
St. Swithin, London Stone	11 „	7 „
Temple Church	8 Vacation ...	4 „
	7 Term Time.	3 „
St. Vedast, Foster Lane..	.....	6 „
Whitehall Chapel	11 „	5 „

The other Churches have their services performed at least every Wednesday, Friday, and Holyday."

A list similar to the above, but containing a fuller account, mentioning other London churches in which the Holy Communion was administered weekly, was published in the beginning of the eighteenth century, in a work entitled "Pietas Londinensis." Another in 1683, in the "Preface" to a Book intituled "Advice to the Readers of the Common Prayer," &c. Another in "An Essay upon the service of the Church of England, considered as a daily service," &c., by William Best, D.D. 1746. Another is appended to "Rules for our more devout behavour in the time of Divine Service;" the first edition of which was published in 1686. To these

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may be added several others: from all which it appears that ever since the Reformation, down to about the last half-century, whatever diversity of opinion may have existed in doctrinal points, even when religious controversy was carried on with a warmth exceeding that of our own times, few clergymen (of whatever shade of opinion) thought themselves justified in closing their Church against daily prayer. However divided on other subjects, all seem on this point to have been unanimous. We conclude in the words of two holy men, "*Be sure,*" says Bishop Ken, "*to offer up to God every day the morning and evening prayers.*" "Never miss," says Archdeacon Hewitson in his advice to Bishop Wilson, the day on which he was ordained Deacon, "Never miss the *Church's public devotions twice a day,* when unavoidable business, or want of health, or of a church, as in travelling, doth not hinder." Advice which the good Bishop never failed to follow, as is fully shown in Cruttwell's Life.

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CORRIGENDA.

Page 69, line 8, for *and*, read *or*.

—— 218, line 3, for *friar*, read *prior*.

—— 257, line 19, after *serpent*, insert *or*.

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